

Durban 1824-1910: The Formation of a Settler Elite  
and its Role in the Development of a Colonial City.

by

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Abstract

The formation of a settler elite and its role in colonial Durban's urban development between 1854 and 1910 have been studied. In this instance of early colonial capitalism, local business leaders readily established an intimate connection between economic and political power. Many of them used their position on the Durban Town Council, formed in 1854, to wield preponderant civic influence and become the driving force in the development of the town. The nature of this settler elite has been investigated in terms of the theories of social stratification, formulated along Weberian lines. Following the institutionalization of power arrangements these leading settlers were legally acknowledged as a governing elite. Durban provided the setting in which metropolitan institutions, activity patterns and environments could be introduced and maintained, as dictated by the underlying value-system of the British settlers. The colonial city of Durban hereby not only demonstrated the appearance of a civilization, but also the mutual interaction between man's behaviour and his culturally modified environment. The ruling elite regarded the beautification of the urban environment as part of their civic responsibilities in this city-building process. Such a civic pride was especially applied in Durban to the building of impressive Town Halls and public buildings. These leaders also played a decisive role with regard to harbour improvements, railways, tramways, electricity supply, telephone services and sanitary improvements. Following a historical pattern of colonial urban development, Durban became another British city in Africa. Yet it possessed local features which made it atypical, if not unique, in a South African context. The driving force and way of life of the town during the colonial period was clearly British.

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List of Abbreviations

GH	Government House, Natal, papers in Natal Archives Depot, Pietermaritzburg
KCAL	Killie Campbell Africana Library, Durban
NAD	Natal Archives Depot, Pietermaritzburg
<u>NBB</u>	Natal Blue Books
<u>NGG</u>	Natal Government Gazette
N.R.C.	Natal Railway Company
N.G.R.	Natal Government Railways
PM	Prime Minister
CSO	Colonial Secretary's Office, Natal, papers in Natal Archives Depot, Pietermaritzburg
NHD	Natal Harbour Department
MJPW	Minister of Justice and Public Works
PWD	Public Works Department
MSCE	Master of the Supreme Court Estates

Preface

Durban, founded as a trading settlement in 1824, is a product of European expansion on the eastern seaboard of South Africa. In 1839 it became the port of the short-lived Voortrekker Natalia Republic. Once Natal was annexed by Britain in 1843, Durban thrived and grew as the colony's port city. It is one of the inegalitarian cities produced by South Africa's colonial past and its development stands in stark contrast to the process of the present-day struggle for more egalitarian cities. Durban was, more than a century and a half ago, substantially modelled into a place of opportunity for a privileged minority. At present one of the major challenges facing the new South Africa is to make her cities places of real opportunity for the mass of the people. To describe the characteristic social structure of colonial Durban is of course to simplify. It is easy to see that there was a social pyramid that corresponded to some extent with colour. But to understand this structure, the historical situation of Durban has to be taken into account. As a typical British colonial city (declared a borough in 1854), it has to be judged by such criteria as its nineteenth century time frame, its European culture (primarily British), its economic industrial system (employing animate and inanimate energy sources), and by its industrial capitalist political economy.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Anthony Douglas King, 'Colonial Cities: Global Pivots of Change' in Robert Ross and Gerard J. Telkamp (eds), Colonial Cities: Essays on Urbanism in a Colonial Context (Dordrecht: Nijhoff, 1985), pp. 8-9. Supplementing King's analysis is G.A. De Bruijne's 'The Colonial City and the Post-Colonial World' in *ibid.*, p.233. De Bruijne finds it more relevant to label colonial cities as 'passive-industrial' rather than industrial, as these cities (relevant in the colonial Durban context) did not produce large amounts of industrial goods, but accepted the products of industrial production of the Western world. Cf. J.W. McCarty, 'Australian Capital Cities in the Nineteenth Century' in Urban History Yearbook (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1979), pp. 105-9.

Furthermore, Durban, as a typically British colonial city, shared some unique features present in societies in other British colonial cities such as Cape Town, Port Elizabeth and East London in South Africa, Sydney in Australia, and Halifax in Canada. Characteristic of the type were such features as, firstly, group dominance, with power (economic, social, political) held principally in the hands of the non-indigenous minority. Described as 'city-based control',<sup>2</sup> this greatly restricted or curtailed the rights of the colonised Africans. Secondly, the ethos of the colonists, as expressed and perpetuated through their economic, social and political arrangements, was racially, culturally and religiously different from that of the colonised majority.<sup>3</sup> Thirdly, the dominant colonial minority was, in colonial urban days, superior in terms of technological, economic and military resources, and necessarily in social organization.<sup>4</sup> These colonial societies therefore displayed 'the essence of colonialism, the imposition on another people of a system of values not their own.'<sup>5</sup>

Durban's case poses the question of how the colonial minority became dominant in its own unique way. Such a question obviously draws

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<sup>2</sup> De Bruijne 'The Colonial City and the Post-Colonial World' in Ross and Telkamp (eds), Colonial Cities, p.233, saw the necessity of this control to ensure the production, as well as transportation of goods from the metropolitan city. To him, 'colonial cities were centres of control and also intermediary mediums.'

<sup>3</sup> King, 'Colonial Cities', in Ross and Telkamp (ed.), Colonial Cities, pp.9-10; and Colonial Urban Development: Culture, Social Power and Environment (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1976), pp.44-5, 156-7, 181.

<sup>4</sup> King, 'Colonial Cities', in Ross and Telkamp (ed.), Colonial Cities, p.10.

<sup>5</sup> Philip Mason, Patterns of Dominance (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), p.277.



attention to the leaders that this society produced and who formed a controlling settler elite. As representatives of a minority, they did not consciously set themselves to mould the minds of the indigenous population. But the social structure, the realities of power in the nineteenth century and the self-confidence of the Victorian age, combined inevitably to drive home the lesson, already implicit in language and metaphor, that 'White' meant all that was desirable, and 'Black' meant everything that was to be despised and avoided.<sup>6</sup> This was the universal conviction in colonial cities, which translated itself into different ambitions at different levels of society.

The content of this thesis has been chosen to exemplify and illuminate such issues concerning the colonial past of Durban. To be comprehensive is impossible: the intention is to combine a reasonable breadth of treatment with the inclusion of topics of particular interest. The structure and ordering of content requires only brief explanation here. The thesis is divided into nine chapters, which are in turn grouped together on related issues. While each chapter can be read on its own as a contribution to understanding the colonial city of Durban, together and in sequence they should help to underline the continuity and contradictions built into urban life, and above all its spatiality. The concept of social stratification implies that unequally ranked strata or classes exist in society, and that those patterns of inequality persist over time. To arrive at some answers as to what form this stratification took in Durban, it becomes necessary to take a closer look at the people of this colonial settlement.

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The topic to be dealt with in Chapter 1 is how unequal Durban colonial society was within itself and in relation to the rest of Durban. Chapter 2 attempts to illustrate how the settler minority institutionalized power arrangements through the establishment of one of their leading institutions, the Durban Town Council.<sup>7</sup> It will be shown how economic, political and social inequality among individuals and social groups within White Durban society became legally accepted and was perpetuated. Chapter 3 undertakes a social study of thirty five Mayors (nominal heads) in the Durban Town Council of colonial Durban. Insight is offered into how these prominent leaders represented a colonial settler elite; by practising social conventions and traditions of various kinds they acquired enough wealth and prestige to sustain their lifestyles. Chapter 4 furthers an understanding of a colonial elite in the social structure of this typically British colonial city (which in itself cannot be treated as fixed), by examining the physical and spatial environment. Conversely, by examining the society in which it existed, the physical and spatial environment (buildings, architecture and spatial structure) can be appreciated. The built-up Durban environment, which came about through the planning of the dominant British sector of society, unmistakably mirrored their culture and carried the imprint of its being founded as a British town. Chapter 5 provides further insight into some aspects of the British culture and underlying value-system of this society as manifested in the physical institutional form which resulted from the

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<sup>7</sup> Use is made of the term 'Town Council' as 'city' is a nominal status and the powers of a Town Council do not necessarily increase when the town becomes designated a city. Under Ordinance 7 of 1935, the Borough was granted the status of 'City of Durban' and the Councillors' Year ran from October to September. Municipal Elections were then held in October instead of August as before.

initiative of their leaders. Chapters 6, 7, 8 & 9 examine in more depth the physical and spatial environment of colonial Durban by elaborating on some technological changes (for example railways, referred to in Chapter 4), which affected the appearance of Durban. These technological improvements, made possible by the dominant sector of Durban society, simultaneously added to the development of this colonial city. Chapter 6 furthers the discussion by concentrating on Durban harbour improvements; Chapter 7 on the development of the railways; Chapter 8 on services provided by the controlling British settler elite, such as tramways, electricity and telephones; and Chapter 9 on a few other selected environmental services such as water supply, drainage and sewerage, which also modified Durban's physical and spatial environment.

Durban was for these British settlers a creation of a home from home in a modified form in the strange continent of Africa. As their society became more complex, there was a tendency towards inequality between classes of people, towards the developing of a status group that became permanent and that was derived from the fact of having been born into a certain population sector. The colonial city of Durban, forming part of the Colony of Natal, annexed by Britain in 1843, is to be appreciated as yet another 'British' city in Africa. The particular cultural values of this society were to be understood as Western, or more specifically, 'British'. It did, however, possess local features which made it atypical, if not unique in a South African context. By studying this society's social power and technology (as most useful variables) the changing patterns within the modern city, that is one built upon the industrial and scientific revolution, can be predicted. The outcome of it all was that the sand-swept flats around the bay of Port Natal were transformed by

this evolutionary process into a settlement with the makings of a proud city.

Visual data of White colonial culture, mainly retrieved from the Natal Archives Depot, Pietermaritzburg, and Durban Local History Museum, have been used to a limited extent to investigate how the Durban environment was perceived and modified by this dominant sector of the population. Although this study emphasizes treatment of the European colonial community (familiarity with its language and culture are obvious reasons for this emphasis), one remains aware of the inter-action of this group with other cultures, namely the cultures of the indigenous population and Indians. The dominant culture of the colonial elite is obviously not to be seen in a vacuum; the other cultures are part and parcel of the economic and political system in this man-made environment. References have been made to their cultures in this contact situation. A comprehensive focus on all groups would, however, go far beyond the scope of this present research. Only by trying to identify how various cultural groups have made significant contributions to its rich and diversified heritage can the Durban community develop an appreciation that amounts to respect. This attempted urban history of the colonial city of Durban will hopefully add a valuable dimension to understanding man's predicament and potential in the city setting. The plea is for an urban consciousness of, or civic pride in, the man-made Durban environment and a desire to conserve it.

The author contends that this attempted urban history of the colonial city of Durban is her own original work, unless specifically indicated to the contrary in the text. Also that this thesis has not been submitted for a degree.

## Chapter 1

Social Stratification in Colonial Durban

'The colonial city, like colonialism itself, provided the setting for the encounter of races and civilisations - yet one that took place in a situation of structured inequality.'<sup>1</sup>

The concept of social stratification implies that unequally ranked strata or classes exist in society and that such patterns of inequality persist over time. This statement can be amplified by some quotations from the work of social theorists.

'...If the rights and perquisites of different positions in a society must be unequal, then the society must be stratified, because that is precisely what stratification means.'<sup>2</sup>

'...all societies display both a division of labour and inequality.'<sup>3</sup>

'....the division of society into distinct social classes is one of the most striking manifestations of inequality in the modern world...' <sup>4</sup>

'All societies are inegalitarian.' <sup>5</sup>

This chapter will discuss to what extent Durban colonial society was

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<sup>1</sup> King, 'Colonial Cities', in Ross and Telkamp (eds), Colonial Cities, p.27.

<sup>2</sup> Leonard Beeghley, Social Stratification in America: A Critical Analysis of Theory and Research (Santa Monica, California: Goodyear, 1978), p.44 and The Structure of Social Stratification in the United States (United States of America: Allyn and Bacon, 1989), p.1. Beeghley has become an American leader in the field of modern research on sociological analysis of American society.

<sup>3</sup> Beeghley, Social Stratification in America, p.95.

<sup>4</sup> The leading British scholar, Thomas Burton Bottomore, Classes in Modern Society (London: Allen and Unwin, 1965), p.14; Philip Green, The Pursuit of Inequality (Oxford: Robertson, 1981), p.1.

<sup>5</sup> Walter Garrison Runciman, Relative Deprivation and Social Justice: A Study of Attitudes to Social Inequality in Twentieth Century England (London: Routledge, and Kegan Paul, 1966), p.3; Andre Beteille, Equality and Inequality: Theory and Practice (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), pp.1-27; The Idea of Natural Inequality & Other Essays (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), p.2.

unequal. For such an analysis, it is necessary to define social inequalities. These are diverse and intricate and some sort of empirical categorization is a necessary prerequisite for any clear discussion of them.

a) Max Weber's heuristic model of class, status and power.

Max Weber's model for the determination of social strata is a major contribution to the modern theory of stratification<sup>4</sup> and has applicability within a colonial settler situation. Following Weber's model, with its terms class, status and power, the members of Durban society (or any other society) can, according to their occupations, wealth, power or prestige, be collectively grouped above or below one another. Such a social grouping can be termed 'social stratification'. Sometimes a grouping may be defined in terms of 'economic', 'social', and 'political' inequality.<sup>7</sup> The analysis of structured inequality in the colonial setting of Durban, where different races and civilizations met, will be discussed in terms of the Weberian concept of stratification, which has become fundamental to non-Marxist analysis. Weber was explicitly setting out to contradict what he considered to be the 'economic determinism'<sup>8</sup> which he perceived in Karl Marx's work. This theme is present in

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<sup>4</sup> Max Weber, Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich (eds), Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretative Sociology (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1978), part 1, pp. 302-7; part 2, pp.926-39. Weber's interpretative sociology has been a key element in my research and his two short sketches in part 1, pp.302-7 on social stratification together provide the basis for a modern theory of social stratification.

<sup>7</sup> Runciman, Relative Deprivation and Social Justice, p.37; Beeghley, Social Stratification in America, pp.27-41; Edward G. Grabb, Social Inequality: Classical and Contemporary Theorists (Toronto, Ontario: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1984), pp.46-67.

<sup>8</sup> The idea that the class structure - in this case, the distribution of life-chances - was wholly determined by economic factors. See Rosemary Crompton and Jon Gubbay, Economy and Class Structure (London: The MacMillan Press Ltd, 1977), p.7.

much of Weber's writing and is well portrayed by Leonard Beeghley when he observes that,

'...while Weber realized that economic factors shaped stratification systems (for example income allows certain lifestyles and prevents others), his point was to emphasize the importance of non-economic sources of stratification - prestige, religion, ethnicity, family background.'<sup>9</sup>

In Weber's theory, 'class' means all persons in the same situation in the market structure;<sup>10</sup> more explicitly, 'class situation' and 'class' refer only to the same (or similar) interests which an individual shares with others.<sup>11</sup> To speak of a person's 'class', is to speak of his approximate, shared location in the economic hierarchy.

Although closely related to class, Weber makes it quite clear that status is not synonymous with it. Weber's theory of 'status' in its relation to 'class situation' (whereby classes are to be identified according to the objective structure of the market) is concerned with stratification by such essentially subjective criteria as prestige and social estimation. These criteria are expressed in a particular 'style of life'.<sup>12</sup> In other words such criteria are determined solely by the feelings of its members. Weber also stressed that individual lifestyles confer status as a result of parental

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<sup>9</sup> Beeghley, Social Stratification in America, p.21. For an explanation of the Marxist approach, see Peter Saunders, Social Class and Stratification (London: Routledge, 1990), pp.5-10; and Bottomore, Classes in Society, p.18.

<sup>10</sup> Weber, 'article' in Weber, Roth and Wittich, (eds), Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretative Sociology, vol.1, p.302.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., vol.1, p.306.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

upbringing, formal education, and occupational experience.<sup>13</sup> On such bases, people at all levels tend to associate with others who experience roughly the same life styles, and frequently try to prevent the entry of outsiders into the group - a mechanism of social discrimination.<sup>14</sup> In summary, classes and status groups reinforce each other because, over time, classes try to appropriate and protect their individual lifestyles, while status groups try to monopolize economic opportunities for the group.<sup>15</sup> Unlike classes, status groups are normally communities whose members recognise the prestige, lifestyles, etc., they have in common.<sup>16</sup> In principle, prestige or honour can thus be based on virtually any quality that is both valued and shared by an aggregate of people. Status for Weber is often found to be in conflict with class stratification. For example, the monopolisation of particular goods or skills by particular status groups is combined with a distaste for 'haggling' or 'bargaining', which was frequently associated with other lower groups. Acting in such a way impedes the full development of the market.<sup>17</sup>

Weber was concerned with the relative power of classes and status groups rather than with the power hierarchy per se.<sup>18</sup> Bottomore analysed Weber's notion of power as 'inequality', 'a distributive

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Beeghley, Social Stratification in America, p.35. According to Runciman, Relative Deprivation and Social Justice, p.44, the prestige of a job, or the style of life that goes with it, or the educational qualifications which it requires, are what matter for the hierarchy of status.

<sup>15</sup> Beeghley, Social Stratification in America, p.39.

<sup>16</sup> Crompton and Gubbay, Economy and Class Structure, pp.7-8.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

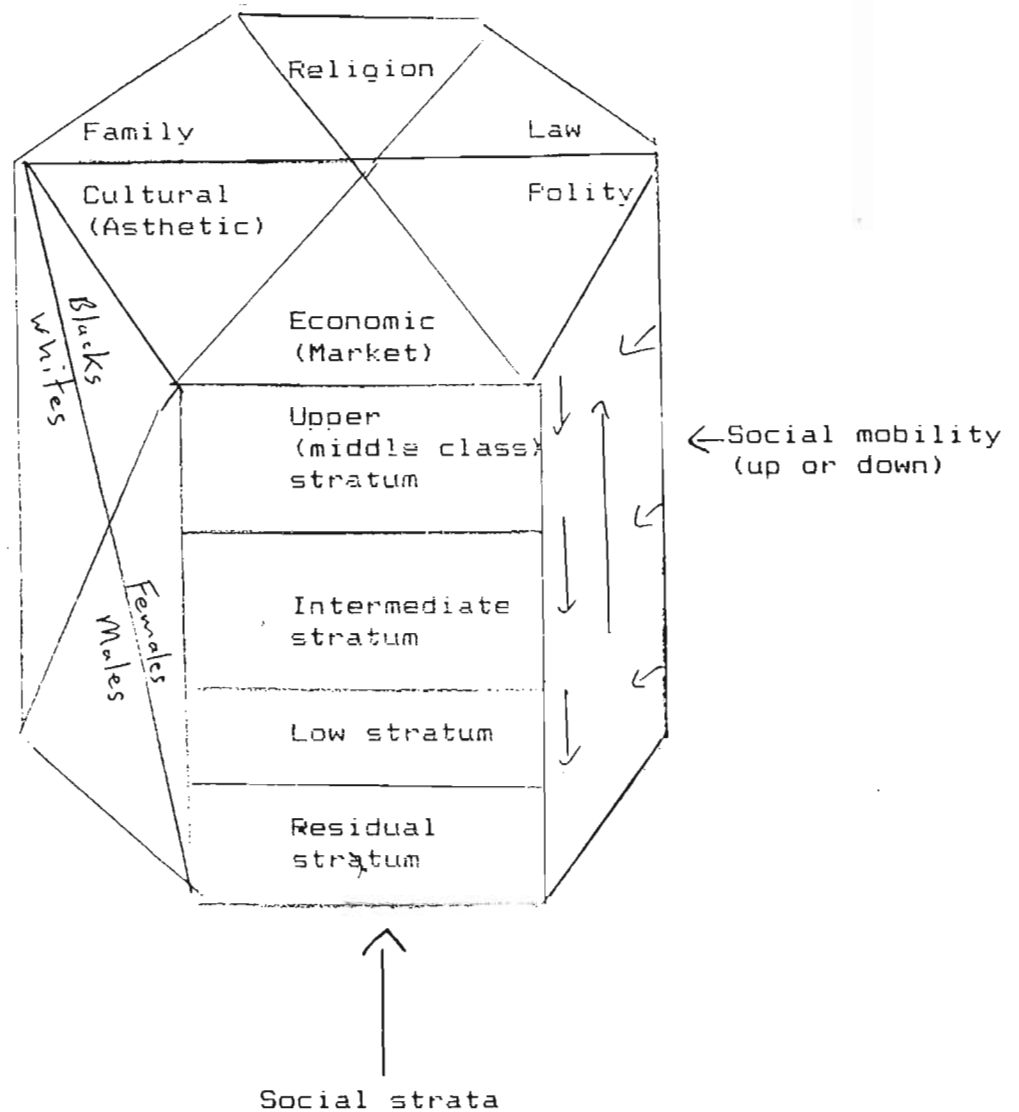
<sup>18</sup> Ibid.



Diagram 1

A suggested preliminary analytical framework of the interrelationship of social institutions and social strata in the colonial Durban context.

(Adapted from Leonard Beeghley, Social Stratification in America (1978), p.100.)



The top (horizontal) portion of the diagram depicts in a six-sided block analogy the various social institutions that can be identified in colonial Durban society.

The economic division is central; peoples' occupations provide them with resources that decisively influence their other social characteristics.

The side (vertical) portion of the diagram depicts identified social strata in the colonial Durban context, i.e. upper middle stratum; intermediate; low and residual stratum.

"Whites" - those who can trace their origin to Europe.

"Blacks" - those who are in whole or part of African or Asian descent.

These divisions suggest a preliminary analytical framework that can be useful for studying social stratification with its interrelationship of social institutions and social strata in the colonial Durban context.

notion which focuses on the differential capacities of actors within a system to secure valued but scarce advantages and resources...<sup>19</sup>. Bottomore finds that Weber identifies power with control, dependence, and inequality '... when he observed that "classes", "status groups" and "parties" are phenomena of the distribution of power within a community',<sup>20</sup> in terms of which some individuals are capable of commanding the behaviour of others. If the described Weberian three-fold model of social stratification is to be applied, any study concerning social processes will involve assigning individuals to a specific class. Without such a classification the social character of a community cannot be assessed.

A possible description of the stratification system of the colonial Durban community can be achieved through the application of a quantitative method <sup>21</sup> based on extensive use of occupational archival data. A suggested class model (See Appendix A and Table 1) is used in this historical exercise as a criterion for identifying classes. This is done using the objective structure of the market, which has been arranged with reference to the Weberian class dimension. The focus is on the economic division of jobs, since peoples' occupations provide them with resources that directly influence their other social characteristics. The economic division is central<sup>22</sup> and stems 'from the brute facts of economic

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<sup>19</sup> Tom Bottomore and Robert Nisbet, A History of Sociological Analysis (London: Heinemann, 1979), p.637.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., pp. 438, 666.

<sup>21</sup> Patricia L. Kendall (eds), The Varied Sociology of Paul F. Lazarsfeld (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982), p.x, wrote: 'Lazarsfeld is most often identified as a pioneer in the field of quantitative analysis.'

<sup>22</sup> See Diagram 1.

organisation',<sup>23</sup> 'which portray the structure of inequalities'.<sup>24</sup>

The procedure of using occupation as a major determinant of social class will become clearer as the data, and interpretations thereof, are set out.

A suggested status model (See Appendix B and Table 2), also based on occupational data (though occupation is not the sole determinant of social class), uses such essentially subjective criteria as prestige and social estimation.<sup>25</sup> Bearing Weber's definition of 'status' in mind, the model 'relates to more subtle distinctions which stem from the values that men set on each other's activities'.<sup>26</sup> The Weberian status dimension has even more relevance to colonial Durban society than that of class; the social aspect is accentuated more than the economic. In other words, the prestige of an occupation does not automatically transcend racially-based perceptions. The racial concept of status conferred by colour (Black-White) has emotive power and is still relevant in the South African context.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> A. Stewart, K. Prandy & R.M. Blackburn, Social Stratification and Occupations (London: Macmillan, 1980), p.2.

<sup>24</sup> K. Prandy, A. Stewart & R.M. Blackburn, White-Collar Work (London: Macmillan, 1982), p.12.

<sup>25</sup> A great deal of evidence from recent field research converges to show that occupation is a major (though not sole) determinant of social class. This conclusion is buttressed by the findings of such writers of social theory as Talcott Parsons, Kingsley Davis and Wilbert E. Moore, mentioned by Natalie Rogoff, 'Social Stratification in France and in the United States' in Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Martin Lipset (eds.), Class, Status and Power: A Reader in Sociological Stratification (United States of America: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1953), p.584.

<sup>26</sup> Rogoff, 'Social Stratification' in Bendix and Lipset (eds), Class, Status and Power, p.584.

<sup>27</sup> Philip Mayer 'Class, Status and Ethnicity as Perceived by Johannesburg Africans' in A. Paul Hare, Gerd Wiendieck, and Max H. von Broembsen (eds), South Africa: Sociological Analyses (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1979), p.293.

The power model, as such, is dealt with extensively in Chapter 2. This model identifies institutionalization of power arrangements, which process in this colonial period perpetuated inequalities.

Assigning individuals to a particular class for the purposes of setting up a class model can be problematic. The most important division for many Western sociologists is defined in terms of occupation, that is between manual and non-manual work.<sup>28</sup> In a Marxist class analysis the division is not between manual and non-manual workers, but between the 'bourgeoisie', owners of property, and the 'proletariat' who do not own property.<sup>29</sup> Another approach is to draw the line between skilled and unskilled workers: many manual workers can become so prosperous as to be ranked as members of a newly emergent 'middle class'.<sup>30</sup> In the final instance, however, the class structure of colonial Durban society can be properly understood only through an attempted theoretical Weberian approach to the systematic empirical and historical investigation of that society.

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<sup>28</sup> Runciman, Relative Deprivation and Social Justice, p.42. Bottomore & Nisbet, A History of Sociological Analysis, p.606, write as follows: 'No other definition of class has shown itself to be so adaptable to the investigations and surveys of political choice, family structure, consumption patterns, children's educational attainments, social imagery, and similar inquiries, which keep the wheels of empirical sociology endlessly turning.' Also: 'However much the terminology of "working" and "middle class" is preferred in the discussion of findings and in theoretical writings, the operational definition is almost always based on the familiar distinction.'

<sup>29</sup> Michel Beaud, A History of Capitalism 1500-1980 (translated by Tom Dickman and Andre Lefebvre), (London: Macmillan, 1984), pp.112-5; Bottomore, Classes in Modern Society, p.33.

<sup>30</sup> Stewart, Prandy & Blackburn, Social Stratification & Occupations, pp.91-2; Runciman, Relative Deprivation and Social Justice, pp. 45-51; Roger Penn, Class, Power, and Technology: Skilled Workers in Britain and America (Cambridge, Cambs.: Polity, 1990), pp.4-8, 172-3; Bottomore and Nisbet, A History of Sociological Analysis, pp.606-10.

Weber identifies the upper class (an aggregate of individuals who share a common market situation) as 'positively privileged propertied classes', as 'rentiers' who 'do not have to work' and receive their income from men (in the case of slaves), land, mines, factories and equipment, ships, creditors and securities.<sup>31</sup> They include an entrenched country aristocracy (upper-upper class of birth and wealth) and up-and-coming industrialists and financiers with newly acquired wealth (lower-upper class),<sup>32</sup> who have tended, especially in the British context, to consolidate that wealth in the form of landed possessions. Together, these privileged participants in a common market situation comprise the national elite.<sup>33</sup> The recognition, in any given society, of the existence of an 'upper class' whose position is founded upon privileged access to private property, should be considered not as the conclusion but the starting point of analysis of the system of power that pertains in that society, '...as the "hierarchy" of elite groups is one principal medium whereby the translation of economic into political power, or the reverse, is effected.'<sup>34</sup> A wealthy<sup>35</sup> stratum of people or settler elite (very broadly speaking), receiving benefit from

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<sup>31</sup> Weber, 'article' in Weber, Roth and Wittich (eds), Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretative Sociology, vol.1, p.303.

<sup>32</sup> See Ruth Rosner Kornhauser, 'The Warner Approach to Social Stratification' in Bendix and Lipset (eds), Class, Status and Power, pp. 230-1.

<sup>33</sup> G.E. Mingay, The Victorian Countryside (London: Routledge and Kegan, 1981), vol.2, pp.384-8.

<sup>34</sup> Philip Stanworth and Anthony Giddens (eds), Elites and Power in British Society (London: Cambridge University Press, 1974), p.xi.

<sup>35</sup> Beeghley, Social Stratification in America, p.213, conceptualizes the distribution of wealth in terms of five levels: (1) those who are worth nothing; (2) those who are barely solvent; (3) those who have a nestegg of wealth; (4) the rich; and (5) the superrich.

the industrial revolution<sup>39</sup> had by 1851 turned a predominantly rural population into one just over half urban. To Bottomore this change influenced 'most fully and clearly the typical class structure of the new capitalist society' in Britain.<sup>40</sup> British settlers who made up early Durban society would retain something of this British class structure, though in its own distinct South African form.<sup>41</sup> They were to be transformed in economic, social and political circumstances peculiar to the colonial locale.

The first British settlers in 1824 colonised Port Natal,<sup>42</sup> primarily for trade. The intention of 'F.G. Farewell and Company', representing the Cape Town based company of J.R. Thompson (which had direct links with Britain), was to set up a post which would

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<sup>39</sup> E.J. Hobsbaum, Industry and Empire: An Economic History of Britain since 1750 (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1969), pp.7-9; J.F.C. Harrison, Early Victorian Britain 1832-51 (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971), pp.46-8; G.M. Trevelyan, English Social History: a Survey of Six Centuries from Chaucer to Queen Victoria (New illustrated edition. London: Longman, 1978), pp.440-50; S.G. Checkland, The Rise of Industrial Society in England 1815-1885 (London: Longman, 1964), pp.280-300; E.P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1968), pp. 20-55; Edward A. Hughes, Britain and Greater Britain in the Nineteenth Century (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1985), pp.4-5, 176; Penn, Class, Power and Technology, pp.4-8.

<sup>40</sup> Bottomore, Classes in Modern Society, p.33.

<sup>41</sup> King, Colonial Urban Development, pp.22-3, writes that each member, as he established a new community, carried with him his own 'conceptual models' of his society and culture, which were fundamentally important in structuring his new social world. 'The degree to which these models are modified by contact with the host society and environment are evidenced by the type of social order and new culture which, over time, emerge.'

<sup>42</sup> Tradition has it that Vasco da Gama, a Portuguese explorer on his way to India, more than three centuries earlier, in December 1497 sighted and named the territory 'Natal'. See George Russell, History of Old Durban (Durban: P. Davis & Sons, 1899), pp.1-2; John Centlivres Chase, The Natal Papers (Grahamstown: Godlonton, 1843), p.1.

supersede that of the Portuguese at Delagoa Bay.<sup>43</sup> The British annexation of Natal in 1843 ensured Durban's future development as a British port. The Letters Patent of 30 April 1845 announced that Port Natal was to become 'a separate and distinct port' from Cape Town. Natal's Collector of Customs, William Swan Field, was accordingly instructed to communicate directly with the Treasury in London.<sup>44</sup> An Order-in-Council of 26 September 1846 formally provided for this, so that, as Earl Grey later explained, 'goods may be landed in the Cape Colony for re-exportation to Natal, and, in this case, they only pay duty once. If shipped direct for Port Natal, they only pay duty likewise'.<sup>45</sup> Durban now took her place on the world mercantile map and would function like other British colonial port cities such as Cape Town, Port Elizabeth and East London in Southern Africa, Sydney in Australia, and Halifax in Canada. By tapping the hinterland and trading with the metropole, Durban became tied in with a world capitalist system.<sup>46</sup>

Trade, whether in wool, sugar, or in minerals, coal, diamonds or later gold, created a small class of wealthy men in colonial Durban and a larger class of 'working men'. This commercial elite were to wield great economic power. The three Milner brothers<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Edgar H. Brookes and Colin de B. Webb, A History of Natal (Pietermaritzburg, University of Natal Press, 1965), p.18.

<sup>44</sup> Basil Alexander Le Cordeur, 'The Relations between the Cape and Natal 1846-1879' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, 1962), pp.1-4.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> King, Colonial Urban Development, p.22.

<sup>47</sup> Hattersley, The British Settlement, p.83, wrote on the sugar-farming of the Milner brothers at 'Springfield Estate' and their barque 'Sarah Bell' used for trading between Durban and Mauritius.

and George Christopher Cato, who dominated the Natal coastal trade in the mid-nineteenth century, virtually carried Durban's commerce. They owned large tracts of land directly overlooking the Market square. The D'Urban Land Registry Office was after all opened up for Durban by G.C. Cato in 1849.<sup>48</sup> Russell wrote in Old Durban<sup>49</sup> that Cato was the first auctioneer to hold a public sale of land in Durban as authorised by the British Government as early as 22 November 1848, with an upset price of £100 per acre. The wagon traffic from the Point harbour area traversed the route into Smith street where traders' stores and shops served as direct market outlets.<sup>50</sup> Cato and the Milner brothers could have been described as dynamic entrepreneurs, who would have been counted in the top bracket in the class model set out in this chapter. Cato himself, as an economic leader with accumulated wealth from merchant capital, grew enough in importance to become a prime mover among a colonial settler elite who promoted city-building. The outcome was more built forms in the Durban environment. A good example was when Cato, and P. Ferreira as joint Trustees, established the Natal Bank on 10 April 1854 in Pietermaritzburg and Cato then opened, as Branch Manager, an agency of the Natal Bank on 21 April 1854 in Durban.<sup>51</sup> The well-developed nineteenth-century attitude of Natal's merchants, traders and landowners, was that they should be free to pursue their business interests and enjoy their property without government

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<sup>48</sup> NGB, vol.1, no.19, 15 May 1849, p.19: D'Urban Land Registry Office.

<sup>49</sup> Russell, Old Durban, pp.63-4.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., pp.117-20, 84, 158.

<sup>51</sup> NGB: Supplement, vol.VI, no.281, 2 May 1854, p.281: Natal Bank.



interference.<sup>52</sup> Another earlier example of institution building was when Cato and J.F. Kahts became the first Agents in Durban for the Natal Fire Insurance and Trust Co. This was the first Insurance Company in Durban, established on 11 April 1849, with Cato as its first Manager.<sup>53</sup> Similar initiatives were taken later by William Hartley who amassed a 'windfall' fortune from peppercorns (as discussed in Chapter 3). Hartley, together with John Nussey and John Middlebrook, opened and became proprietors of the Durban Bank in 1862.<sup>54</sup> The names of J. Millar (Chairman), Hugh Gillespie and R. Vause were recorded in 1865 in the Natal Almanac, Directory and Yearly Register as Directors of the Commercial and Agricultural Bank. Building Societies in the 1880s were associated with some commercial elite names such as William Palmer, John Nicol, J. Ellis Brown and B.W. Greenacre who served as Trustees.<sup>55</sup> The well-to-do class in colonial Durban strengthened their economic position further when thirty-nine merchants (discussed in Chapters 3, 4 and 5) had organized themselves in 1856 into the Natal Chamber of Commerce which was to concern itself with their economic welfare. The latter became incorporated under Natal Law 31 of 1884 and changed its name to the present one of Durban Chamber of Commerce.<sup>56</sup> The Natal

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<sup>52</sup> In 1914 the Natal Bank became part of the National Bank of South Africa, while in 1926 the latter amalgamated with Barclay's (Dominion, Colonial and Overseas). See Natal Mercury, May 1954: Series 'Pioneers of Durban'.

<sup>53</sup> NGG, vol. VI, no.285, 30 May 1854, p.285: Natal Fire Assurance and Trust Company.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., vol.XIV, no.733, 18 November 1862, p.486: Durban Bank.

<sup>55</sup> Natal Almanac, Directory and Yearly Register, 1865: Commercial Directory, p.59; ibid., 1885, p.343: Durban Institutions.

<sup>56</sup> Daily News: Supplement: '100 Years of The Daily News 1878-1978', 5 January 1978.

Manufacturers' Association was formed on 11 October 1905. It changed its name to the Natal Chamber of Industries in 1924.<sup>57</sup> Both these economic institutions voiced the needs of the influential business sector of Durban and became a strong factor in determining colonial legislation.

G.C. Cato translated his wealth into power when he gained a political voice as Durban's first Mayor.<sup>58</sup> He was described in 1849 as '... the head and centre of power and knowledge of all things Natalian' by a contemporary, W.H. Middleton, who bought his store.<sup>59</sup> Cato earned enough respect in the eyes of others in the community to be acknowledged as a suitable political leader, as is evidenced in the status and political models discussed in these first two chapters. The Natal Mercury of 9 August 1854 reported as follows:

'That gentleman's long colonial standing, his intimate acquaintance with the history and the circumstances of the Colony, and his personal connection with its most important interests, justify the election, and perhaps we might add, entitled Mr Cato to the distinction of this civic honour on the first occasion of its bestowment.'<sup>60</sup>

When Cato took his seat as the first Mayor of Durban, he thanked his supporters in a straight-forward down-to-earth speech, and at the same time expressed the hope that the inhabitants of Durban would all

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<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

<sup>58</sup> B.J.T. Leverton, 'George Christopher Cato', in Dictionary of South African Biography, 2, pp.126-7.

<sup>59</sup> Durban Local History Museum: File 572133: 581 C: 'George Christopher Cato'; Killie Campbell Museum: Cato Papers (2 files). No.1 is an account by W.H. Middleton of the early days of Durban 1949-50; no.4 and 5 are on Cato's death in 1893.

<sup>60</sup> Natal Mercury, 9 August 1854.

pull together for the good of the town.

'The public in the different wards must not think that their representatives are to be pitted against each other for the promotion of separate ends and interests. The Council is one body and must act together for the good of the entire community. I have long opposed a Municipality for Durban, but the time had come for introducing the machinery of Local Government. We had escaped the crisis at the Cape, and the town is now advancing.'<sup>41</sup>

Cato, one of the first of many major stake-holders to hold office in colonial Durban and a true representative of a colonial settler elite, was of a new breed: the community builder in a mushrooming 'upstart' open city with no past - where personal and public growth, personal and public prosperity intermingled. His city was still in the making and in stark contrast to those established centres of the Old World that were sites of palaces, cathedrals, libraries, archives and great monuments of all kinds. This upstart businessman in a new world, together with others of his kind, ardently promoted harbour and railway building to develop the town (see Chapters 6 and 7).

Apparently Cato and other traders, such as Edward Snell, who had 'the first sea-going vessel built in Natal under the flag' to foster 'a coasting trade',<sup>42</sup> appreciated that the economic future of Durban (and of Natal) lay primarily in the development of its shipping facilities. Cato, who was a representative of Durban mercantile interests, stressed the importance, as early as 1849<sup>43</sup> of harbour improvements to improve trade (discussed in Chapter 6). Cato's

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<sup>41</sup> Russell, Old Durban, p.210.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., pp.158-9.

<sup>43</sup> L. Heydenrych, 'Port Natal Harbour, c. 1850-1897', in Guest and Sellers (eds), Enterprise and Exploitation in a Victorian Colony, p.19.

business interests kept pace with the development of Durban (and Natal), when he became the first Lloyd's Shipping Agent at Port Natal in 1850. In this capacity, as well as that of Mayor, he was appointed to the Harbour Board of Commissioners by the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal, Sir Benjamin Pine, in 1855.<sup>44</sup> Cato also later served on a committee appointed by Lieutenant-Governor Sir John Scott to investigate the harbour situation and wrote a comprehensive report on the matter. In October 1858 the harbour acquired a port boat which had been specially built under Cato's personal supervision. During this period he also served as Port Captain for a few years. In 1880, when the Natal Harbour Board was reconstructed for the third time, Cato was again appointed Harbour Commissioner and this he remained until 1890.<sup>45</sup> Backing by the Natal Government was a foregone conclusion, considering that in this colonial period many of Durban's prominent leaders were Members of the Legislative Council; for example George Christopher Cato, William Hartley, William Arbuckle junior, Benjamin Greenacre, George Payne and William Field (also discussed in Chapter 6).

The establishment of the Natal Railway Company in January 1859 (forerunner of the Natal Government Railways and South African Railways) was Cato's last big business venture. According to Russell in Old Durban, he virtually symbolized this company.<sup>46</sup> Cato became

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<sup>44</sup> NGG, vol.VI, no.312, 12 December 1854, p.312: Draft of an Ordinance (Constitution of a Board of Commissioners); *ibid.*, vol.VII, no.328, 27 March 1855, p.328: Ordinance; Leverton, 'George Christopher Cato', in Dictionary of South African Biography, 2, pp.126-7.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>46</sup> Russell, Old Durban, pp.394-400.

a Trustee, with James Proudfoot, as well as Director, together with other members of the well-to-do class, who controlled the local economy and who also became successors to the Mayoral position, such as Alexander McArthur, A.W. Evans, Hugh Gillespie, J.R. Goodricke, R. Vause and John Hunt. These same Directors were also shareholders, along with other familiar Mayoral names, such as those of Edward Snell, John Millar and S. Pinsent.<sup>47</sup> This line, visually prominent in the Durban environment, at first ran from the Point to Durban. The prospectus stated that the object was

'...to make the harbour the most efficient in South Africa, and bring a large amount of passing tonnage to the port... There is not a member of the community but will benefit either directly or indirectly by the opening of railway communication in Natal, of which this is but the forerunner.'<sup>48</sup>

Cato was a good example of a mid-nineteenth century entrepreneur who stood out as a dynamic leader at the outset of the establishment of a 'Settler Elite' in Durban. He was a man with great foresight, who had tremendous faith in the railways and supported them tenaciously against all criticism during the initial difficulties. Cato attended the grand opening of the Natal Railways in Durban on 25 June 1860 in his capacity as Director and United States Consular Agent. Together with the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal and other dignitaries he made the first train trip.<sup>49</sup>

The wealthy merchants thus also sought political power, not only in Durban as representatives of the Durban Town Council, but also in Durban County as representatives in the Natal Government. This new

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<sup>47</sup> See Appendix L.

<sup>48</sup> Russell, Old Durban, p.394.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., p.469.

order of businessmen, energetic, tough and proud, in some sense thus constituted the top layer in colonial Durban society - an urban upper middle class. Their role in administrative local and central government was always considerable, and they were to exert 'influence' and to benefit from it. Durban was not a collection of separate individuals, but a network of colonial elite families, each with its own history, who had close personal relationships, through friends and marriage (discussed in Chapter 3). They contributed to Durban's urban development by fostering stronger links with the hinterland and the outside world. This well-to-do class, who controlled the local economy, shared a sense of growth. Local and responsible government came into being greatly reinforcing a sense of local identity among the dominant wealthy class. It provided men of expedience with an extra tool to strengthen their position and define and control urban development.

b) A suggested class model for Durban along Weberian lines.

It remains to provide a system of classification for colonial Durban. The system adopted is a four-stratum class model based on occupation (See Appendix A) - upper middle class, intermediate, low and residual class. This typology has been constructed with Weber's class dimension borne in mind; classes in the nineteenth century colonial Durban environment are identified according to the economic division of occupations, which reflect a structure of inequalities.

The male head of household for family units has been listed and the female head usually recorded when single or widowed. It is necessary once again to point out that the use of statistics, as applied in the numerical breakdown for 1880/1 and 1900/1 (See Appendix A: Tables 1 and 2), is artificial and merely serves as an indicator of possible estimated groupings. The terms 'upper middle class' (referred to in the suggested 'class' and 'status' model) and 'upper class' are

understandable in terms of contemporary British society, with its aristocracy and large industrialists and financiers. The new wealth of the latter was not sufficiently legitimated by a long tradition of inherited wealth as in the case of the upper class to make them members of the upper-upper group. The upper-middle class identified in the colonial Durban context is composed of substantial entrepreneurial businessmen, farmers and professional people. They were still caught up in a process of becoming the lower-upper class as understood in the British context; the formation of a colonial settler elite in the Durban context was still in the making.

The term 'gentleman', widely used in the Durban colonial context, is applied to occupational class; income was derived from other sources, not necessarily from property holdings in the Durban Borough. Some British settlers in Durban were listed as 'gentlemen' in the respective occupational registers of the Natal Almanac, Directory and Yearly Register and the Natal Government Gazette's Jury Lists, Voters' Rolls and Voters' Lists for the Durban Borough. This can be verified from examples taken from Jury Lists as early as 1857 when 21 'gentlemen' were recorded in Durban County and 15 'gentlemen' in Victoria County.<sup>70</sup> Occupational listings for the period of 1890/1891 in The Natal Government Gazette recorded 103 people as 'gentlemen'; with 78 as owners of property, 25 as renters and 2 as lodgers. This figure can be compared with 72 'gentlemen' listed in the Voters' List for the period 1880/1 in The Natal Government Gazette of 1880 and 117 listed in the Voters' List for 1900/1901. Less informative is The Natal Almanac, Directory and Yearly Register

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<sup>70</sup> Natal Mercury: Supplement, 13 August 1857.

of 1890, which recorded only 17 people as 'gentlemen'.<sup>71</sup>

The suggested four-stratum class model for colonial Durban society is as follows: First, there were in the colonial 'upper middle class stratum' an abundance of substantial non-manual self-employed merchants who in the colonial setting of Durban controlled material production. They were followed by a smaller number of substantial farmers/planters (many concentrated on the outskirts of the Durban Borough boundary but still listed under Durban Borough), shipowners and gentlemen (gentlewomen were not occupationally listed). Also included were higher-graded professionals/semi-professionals from other spheres, who on their top rung on the occupational ladder, fell into the highest and most privileged wage-earning income bracket. An example of this group is provided in Appendix C from Natal Government Civil Establishments for 1880 printed in the Natal Blue Book,<sup>72</sup> and referring to the Durban Borough. This has relevance to some of the following gradings. Second was the colonial 'intermediate (middle/middling) class stratum' including the few lower-graded professional/semi-professional persons with limited powers of ownership, yet with some earning salaries higher than non-manual clerical and related workers. This group is distinguished primarily by their access to special education, training or other qualifications. They were followed still in the same grouping by an abundance of salaried clerical persons and plenty of small-scale self-employed tradespeople, such as owners of small businesses.

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<sup>71</sup> Natal Almanac, Directory and Yearly Register, 1890: Trade Directory, pp.117-53; See N66, vol.XLII, no.2349, 2 September 1890, pp. 1421-53: Voters' Roll ending 31 August 1891; *ibid.*, vol.XXXII, no.1843, 7 September 1880, pp.644-61: Voters' List ending 31 August 1881; and *ibid.*, vol.LII, no.3114, 17 July 1900, pp.811-56: Voters' List ending 31 August 1901.

<sup>72</sup> Natal Blue Book, 1880: Civil Establishments and List of Offices, C1-C101.



Third was the colonial 'low stratum' with many manual workers (skilled/semi-skilled and unskilled). Some skilled/semi-skilled persons were property owners (who could move up into the second intermediate bracket), whereas others were salaried. The unskilled were largely propertyless without special credentials and relied almost completely on labour power for their material existence. The latter were graded the lowest in this stratum. Fourth was the residual stratum for workers not classifiable by occupation. This could perhaps be attributed to the fact that no employment was available to them. The stratum also includes those temporarily seeking employment, or the destitute, who were either suffering from ill-health, were handicapped or too old for lucrative employment.

This largely commercial framework fitted in with Durban's important function as a port between its hinterland and the outside world, so well reflected in the urban environment, with its merchant houses and stores, an abundance of company offices, hotels, boarding and eating houses (more in Smith than West Street).<sup>73</sup> Quite a number of women, mostly widowed, were proprietors of these establishments. Only a few single women were listed in the Natal Almanac, Directory and Yearly Registers for 1870/1871; 1880/1881; 1890/1891 and 1900/1901 as principals, teachers, dressmakers and milliners.<sup>74</sup> These women were

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<sup>73</sup> Natal Almanac, Directory and Yearly Register, 1870-1871: Commercial Directory, pp.266-70; *ibid.*, 1880: Commercial Directory, pp. 364-74; *ibid.*, 1890: Commercial Directory, pp. 117-53; *ibid.*, 1900: Trade Directory, pp.347- 66. These Commercial/Trade Directories show that the highest density of Insurance/Assurance companies were in Smith Street, followed almost equally by West and Field Streets. Merchants and Importers/Dealers were mostly concentrated in West Street, already then accentuating that West Street was the more important street. By 1900 cycling companies, companies for typewriters and cash registers started making their appearance.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*

counted and included in the class model. Otherwise, only the male heads of the household units, as previously stated, were counted in the class model. The majority of dependent married women were however, included in the status model, as they presumably shared the status of their husbands.

Appendix A: Tables 1 and 2, showing occupational groupings of Durbanites in 1880 and 1900 respectively, have been tabulated from forty-eight directories which exist for the period of study, namely issues of the Natal Almanac, Directory and Yearly Register. Occupational information has also been taken from the Natal Government Gazette and Blue Books (Governmental Civil Establishments). These archival data recorded by the dominant British sector of colonial Durban society have relevance mostly to non-manual higher, intermediate and lower manual gradings of White settlers and to a lesser degree of Indian tradesmen in Durban.<sup>75</sup> The manual skilled/semi-skilled stratum ranged from cabinetmakers, bakers and compositors in the consumer trades to sailmakers, mechanics, bricklayers and carpenters in the capital goods industry. The Business Directory of the Natal Almanac, Directory and Yearly Register for the Borough of Durban for the year 1890 shows there was an increase in building and in the number of craftsmen and artisans; more were listed in the Durban Borough in 1890 than in previous

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<sup>75</sup> The first substantial listing of Durbanites relevant to this research appeared as a Commercial or Business Directory in the Natal Almanac, Directory and Yearly Register, 1870/1871, pp.266-70. The Directories used for 1880/1881 and 1890/1891 also only give Commercial listings, whereas the Natal Almanac, Directory and Yearly Register for 1900 gives a Trade Directory and for the first time a Residential Directory. The listing for 1900 is thus more comprehensive than those which immediately precede it, and the listings for 1910 heralds the modern period of detailed listings in the Directories.

Commercial or Business Directories for the years 1870/1871 and 1880, from the same sources.<sup>76</sup> That more building was undertaken, reflected Durban's economic and population growth and this trend is reinforced by the even higher increase in this sector listed in The Natal Government Gazette for 1900/1901 and Trade Directory of the Natal Almanac, Directory and Yearly Register for the year 1900.<sup>77</sup>

There existed an openness of occupations in colonial Durban society; the British settlers relied primarily on voluntary cooperation and a free market system based on the model of the mother country. Employment opportunities were extended to other races whose self-motivation could bring them higher earnings, exemplified in the case of Indian immigrants mainly from the 1870s onwards.

'...the significant growth of Natal's Indian trading class really began with the arrival from the mid-1870s of the so-called 'Arab' trader or passenger-class Indian, who was usually endowed with some expertise and capital, as well as commercial contacts in India and an ability to exploit local opportunities...'<sup>78</sup>

It is estimated that of Indian immigrants (not involved in the sugar industry) in Durban during the last quarter of the nineteenth-century 'over 1 100 indentured Indians were employed by the African Boating Co. after 1880 as stevedores, porters and harbour workers in

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<sup>76</sup> Natal Almanac, Directory and Yearly Register, 1870-1871: Commercial Directory, pp.266-70; *ibid.*, 1880: Commercial Directory, pp.364-74; *ibid.*, 1890: Commercial Directory, pp.117-53. In 1890 the occupation of electricians was recorded as this new technology reached Durban.

<sup>77</sup> Natal Almanac, Directory and Yearly Register, 1900: Trade Directory, pp.347-66; NGG, vol.LII, no.3144, 17 July 1900, pp.811-56: Voters' List for Durban Borough for the year ending 31 August 1901.

<sup>78</sup> Surendra Bhana, 'Indian Trade and Trader in Colonial Natal', in Bill Guest and John M. Sellers (eds) Enterprise and Exploitation in a Victorian Colony: Aspects of Economic and Social History of Colonial Natal (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1985), pp.234-63.

general...<sup>79</sup>. Indentured Indians, once their contracts expired, were mostly free after 1870 to find other occupations. They excelled as fishermen, hawkers and market gardeners in a private capacity. Brain writes that in the opinion of the Resident Magistrate of Umlazi they shut out European competition entirely, especially those enterprises located near the town of Durban and villages in the Umlazi Division, who completely monopolized the growth and sale of vegetables, for which they obtained very remunerative prices.<sup>80</sup> Leo Kuper writes that by 1885 about 2 000 Indians were in occupation of land within two miles of the boundaries of Durban and operated as market gardeners or small farmers.<sup>81</sup> Others took on work with the Durban Town Council as lamplighters, scavengers, policemen.<sup>82</sup>

John Robinson, editor of the Natal Mercury, Member of Parliament and

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<sup>79</sup> Joy Brain 'Indentured and Free Indians in the Economy of Colonial Natal' in *ibid.*, pp.221; 226. In 1902 the Port Captain of Durban harbour requisitioned forty 'Bombay native seaman to be used for boats, tugs and dredgers'. Brain mentions that among indentured Indians there was also a group, labelled 'special servants', who took on jobs in Durban hotels and the Durban Club as waiters, cooks, billiard markers and coachmen. They were also counted among the staff at Addington hospital as orderlies and cooks and took up posts in the civil service as interpreters at various courts, attendants at the Post Office, as well as performing postal services as postmen and compounders.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, p.212. See also: Surendra Bhana and Joy B. Brain, Setting Down Roots: Indian Migrants in South Africa 1860-1911 (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1990), p.17; Joy Brain, 'An Economic Transformation: The Indian Community in Natal', in Bill Guest and John M. Sellers (eds.), Receded Tides of Empire (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1994), pp.198-200.

<sup>81</sup> Leo Kuper, Hilstan Watts and Ronald Davies, A Study in Racial Ecology (London: Cape, 1958), p.26.

<sup>82</sup> A.C. Bjorvig 'History of the Durban Town Council 1854-1879' (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of the Orange Free State, 1979), pp.75, 89, and 143.

first Prime Minister of Natal in 1893, recalled:

'the European working-classes...the poorer classes of settlers have been elbowed out of the minor walks of trade and agriculture - shopkeeping, market-gardening, hawking, rough labour of all kinds...' <sup>83</sup>

Robinson on another occasion partially contradicted himself when he remarked:

'Fortunately, the skilled artisan, the cultivator and stock-breeder on a large scale, the clerk and the shopman, with other superior classes of employee, still occupy the field, and seem likely to do so, and it is by them that the steadfast opposition to an indiscriminate 'Asiatic invasion' is likely to be sustained.' <sup>84</sup>

'Passenger' Indians, who came from 1870 onwards, mainly took up occupations as storekeepers, merchants and solicitors in Durban's commercial centre. The fees generated annually by the Mosque Market in Grey Street alone, calculated at £1 400 - £1 500 a year by 1909, serve as an indicator of the volume of this trade.<sup>85</sup> Indians displayed a keen interest in trading, just like their European counterparts.<sup>86</sup> There was hardly a part of the economy of Natal

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<sup>83</sup> Sir John Robinson, A Life Time in South Africa: being the Recollections of the First Premier of Natal (London: Smith and Elder, 1900), p.76.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid., p.77.

<sup>85</sup> Bhana, 'Indian Trade and Trader', in Guest and Sellers (eds), Enterprise and Exploitation in a Victorian Colony, p.237.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid., p. 249. Bhana wrote as follows:  
'In Durban in 1905, 92 out of a total of 318 wholesale businesses were run by Indians; 200 of the 950 retail stores belonged to the Indians; and almost all of the 145 'Kaffir' eating-houses belonged to them.'

that was not dependent to some extent on Indian labour.

'To the dominant Whites, Indians were a difficult legal and political problem, effectively claiming civil and economic rights as British subjects. Unlike the Africans there was no "Native Law" for them and under the Natal Charter, passenger Indians were already exempt from class legislation affecting "natives, coloured persons or civilised races".'<sup>87</sup>

This aspect is covered in Chapter 2. In the case of Africans the situation was rather different. Easy inter-racial relations existed from the founding of 'Port Natal' by the 1824 British settlers.

These settler camps,

'became the resort of starving refugees from all parts of the country, who crawled in to ask food and protection. These people attached themselves as retainers and henchmen to the several traders, who thus became recognised as the lawfully constituted Chiefs of the Whiteman and Native.'<sup>88</sup>

Russell also writes that:

'Natives were employed to construct huts, generally by contract; ordinary huts, costing about 10 s., while finished huts for Europeans would cost 30 s. or 40 s. each.'<sup>89</sup>

Reeds utilised for house building,

'were cut by the Natives, brought on the heads of the women in long bundles, and were readily purchased in exchange for Emigrant biscuit, old clothes, and hoop iron.'<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>87</sup> Maynard Swanson, 'Asiatic Menace': Creating Segregation in Durban, 1870-1900', in The International Journal of African Historical Studies, 18, 3 (1977), p.404.

<sup>88</sup> Russell, Old Durban, p.7.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid., p.91.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., p.91.

Necessary foodstuffs such as pumpkins and fowls were bought from the Natives, as well as milk in clay pots of their own making, or in "calabashes".<sup>91</sup> There was a certain order in these inter-racial relations, and, of course, the British settlers established an identifiable superiority that would help shape early Durban society.

The picture derived from fragmented and scattered references to Africans is that they were regarded as unskilled manual workers, who filled the low stratum. They were heavily concentrated around the harbour, employed as dockworkers,<sup>92</sup> in railway construction and on building sites. Elsewhere in the borough they worked as messengers,<sup>93</sup> gardeners and cleaners in homes and businesses. African wage-earners held low-skill and low-wage jobs (see Appendix C). Whites in general perceived Africans as a passive threat and affected 'a paternal regard for their allegedly natural subordination...'<sup>94</sup>. This does not imply that Whites did not hold low-skill and low-wage jobs or were always employed. The Superintendent of Police, R.C. Alexander, reported in 1885 that his

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<sup>91</sup> Ibid., p.94.

<sup>92</sup> Paul la Hausse, 'The Struggle for the City: Alcohol, the Ematsheni and Popular Culture in Durban, 1902-1936' (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Cape Town, 1984), p.23, writes that of the 76 700 African male workers in wage employment in Natal in 1904, 5 100 were to be found as dock workers in Durban.

<sup>93</sup> Natal Blue Books 1880, C2-C101. 'Native Messengers' were employed in Civil Establishments, for example Customs, at £12 per annum.

<sup>94</sup> Swanson, 'The Asiatic Menace', in African Studies, 18, 3 (1977), pp. 387-410; 'The Durban System: Roots of Urban Apartheid in Colonial Natal', in African Studies 35, 3 (1976), pp.159-76; 'The Sanitation Syndrome: Bubonic Plague and Urban Native Policy in the Cape Colony, 1900-1909', in Journal of African History, XVIII, 3 (1977), pp. 387-410.

list of unemployed was steadily increasing.

'We have many institutions in the Borough, such as the Durban Home, for destitute old men supported by contributions, and for able-bodied men - about 100 in number - who can earn their board and lodgings at the store-yard: a Casual Ward, where other destitute men are given shelter at night and the opportunity of earning their food at odd jobs. An officer of my Department is placed in charge who exerts himself as far as possible to obtain employment for them in the Colony or a passage Home. A monthly average for these men has been forty-eight per night.'<sup>95</sup>

The Durban Town Council employed 220 White men during 1885 for relief labour on various roads in Durban at 2s 6d per day.<sup>96</sup> The same happened in 1900 when an exodus of British residents from the Transvaal and Orange Free State commenced following the outbreak of the Anglo-Boer War in 1899. Five hundred men were reported to have been employed for relief work by the governing elite.<sup>97</sup> Boer refugees, counted as 8 844 in 1902,<sup>98</sup> further increased the Durban population at the turn of the nineteenth-century. They were provided for and accommodated on the Durban Townlands at Jacobs and Merebank. The broad picture that emerges of refugees was that manual semi-and unskilled jobs were performed by the men employed by the Natal Government and Durban Town Council, mostly in relief works started in road and railway building, as well as in harbour expansion.<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> Durban Mayor's Minutes, 31 July 1885, pp.133-8.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid., p.17. See also: Natal Mercury, 19 August 1885.

<sup>97</sup> Durban Mayor's Minutes, 31 July 1900, pp.2-3. A large encampment was laid out in Victoria Park by the Durban Town Council where 519 migrants were accommodated. Some 12 000 men were located on the grounds of the Durban and Coast Society of Agriculture and Industry, whereas the Drill Hall was turned into a dormitory where 1 100 refugees were accommodated. Some 1 500 men, women and children were accommodated in the extensive new branch of the African Boating Co. in Point Road.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid., 31 July 1902, pp.10-11.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid.



The classification, based on Durban society's nineteenth century economic life, provided insight into how people not of great social standing in Britain but in the colonial situation became a leading social class, who readily defined and controlled the urban development of Durban. This exercise must be regarded merely as an attempt to explain the hierarchical order of social stratification historically. The need for more uniform data collection and analysis has hopefully been made evident, so that the comparative study of social stratification can be furthered.

c) A suggested status model for Durban based on Weberian approach.

Having attempted to identify a market-based class model (See Appendix A) for colonial Durban society, the next step is to devise a status model (See Appendix B). Although still using occupation as a base, an attempt has been made to distinguish the intricacies of conceptions of the European settlers among themselves and in their relations with other races. According to Bryan S. Turner in Status,<sup>100</sup> Weber was concerned with analysing the historical and social functions of status groups or status communities, which are collectivities enjoying a similar lifestyle, a unified moral system, a common language or culture, or with different religious leanings.<sup>101</sup> The point Weber wanted to argue was that economic wealth was not the only criterion of social power and influence.

'Money and an entrepreneurial position are not in themselves status qualifications, although they may lead to them, and the lack of property is not in itself a status disqualification, although this may be a reason for it.'<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>100</sup> Bryan S. Turner, Status (England: Open University Press, 1988), p.6.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid.

<sup>102</sup> Weber, 'article' in Weber, Roth and Wittich (eds), Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretative Sociology, vol.1, p.302.

Status becomes important for sociological analysis, because status positions are typically hierarchically ranked in terms of greater or lesser privileges and prestige. The tendency of social groups or collectivities to rank positions of leadership and social responsibility at the top, and positions requiring long training just below, has relevance for colonial Durban society. Seymour Martin Lipset and Reinhard Bendix in Social Mobility in Industrial Society, elaborate on this point as follows:

'The number of leaders and highly educated individuals constitutes everywhere a small minority. On the other hand, the great majority is made up of persons in the lower strata who perform manual and routine work of every sort and who command scant rewards and little prestige.'<sup>103</sup>

In keeping with the division between 'the few' and 'the many' the stratification of society has often been pictured as a pyramid or a diamond. In the first analogy, society consists of a series of strata that become larger and more populous according to a hierarchy of lessening reward and prestige. In the second, it has small numbers at the top and bottom, with the mass of the population concentrated in between.<sup>104</sup> Poised on the peak of the social pyramid, the gentry possess prestige and privilege. Beeghley comments that the main reason for the stability of hierarchies of occupational prestige appears to be that people symbolically reward those individuals who hold jobs requiring both education and responsibility, and 'such an aggregate of people values, among other

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<sup>103</sup> Seymour Martin Lipset and Reinhard Bendix, Social Mobility in Industrial Society (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), pp.1-2.

<sup>104</sup> Beeghley, Social Stratification in America, pp.120; 231.

things, service to society. As a result they supply many of society's leaders.<sup>105</sup> In Britain gentry status was already being bestowed on such men 'who have never owned land, but have won their way to distinction and position in the service of the King and in other ways'<sup>106</sup>. This practice has relevance in the colonial context.

Occupational ranking can be very problematic. The method devised to determine the number of people at each rank in Durban society for a status model is a four-fold typology based on occupational prestige (see Appendix B and Tables 3 and 4). Occupational prestige in colonial Durban society has been divided into upper, intermediate, low and residual strata (see Tables 3 and 4). The upper class constituted, broadly speaking a 'Settler Elite'. The conclusion may be drawn that men in positions of leadership and social responsibility formed the upper stratum. From Weber also comes the conclusion that 'officialdom possesses a highly developed status honor' (Ständische Ehre).<sup>107</sup> The education necessary for administrative function was not seen as different from the prestige of education in general, or, to use Weber's terms, the attainment of specialist qualifications could not be separated from the prestige of general culture.<sup>108</sup>

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<sup>105</sup> Ibid.

<sup>106</sup> Mingay, The Victorian Countryside, vol.2, p.391.

<sup>107</sup> David Beetham, Max Weber and the Theory of Modern Politics (London: Allen and Unwin, 1974), p.82.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid.

Executive officials of the Natal Government enjoyed the same social prestige as Town Councillors (with the Mayors as nominal heads) in the urban context. Others in this status model (See Appendix B), were, in the colonial context, the highest ranking military and naval officers and clergymen, although they were subordinate to the rulers in status. In the same stratum were superintendents of missions, education, hospitals, railways and police, and professionals with a prestige ranking mostly attributable to educational qualifications. Also included were 'gentlemen' and 'gentlewomen' - terms which need clarification in the social context.

Philip Mason, referring to English literature to explain what English people themselves understood by the notion of 'gentleman', describes it as a 'widely admired ideal of conduct'<sup>109</sup> which British people, especially during Queen Victoria's reign, associated with 'gentry' as such. This admired ideal of conduct, which Allen Hattersley describes as 'Victorian respectability'<sup>110</sup> was very much sought after by Natal settlers, who assiduously came to foster a class consciousness they brought with them and which became modified in the new land. High occupational status was awarded to members of the political class, who would have described themselves as 'gentlemen' (and ladies sharing their husbands' status as 'gentlewomen').

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<sup>109</sup> Philip Mason, The English Gentleman: the Rise and Fall of an Ideal (London: Deutsch, 1982), p.81.

<sup>110</sup> Hattersley, The British Settlement, p.120.

According to Graham Duminy, the term 'gentry' was sanctified in the 1890s by the publication of Burke's History of the Colonial Gentry.<sup>111</sup> There were however, hardly any South African entries and only two or three Natal ones. To Duminy this 'social setback' does not mean that the term gentry is not appropriate in colonial Natal.<sup>112</sup> Indeed, identification of status groups in the upper stratum as described in the suggested 'status model', could be regarded as a way of defining such groups, who were respected by the community. Gentry status also took on in the colonial application the form of a non-hereditary status honour bestowed on an individual by the British sovereign as a reward for service. Recipients were those responsible for administrative or economic development. Such individuals were held in great social esteem by others in the community and they were included in the upper stratum. Titles<sup>113</sup> such as 'Sir' and 'Hon.' (Honourable), were bestowed upon British settlers in Durban and Natal for services rendered. Names familiar

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<sup>111</sup> Graham Duminy, 'The Methleys of the Natal Midlands: The Making of a Colonial Gentry Family', in Natal Museum Journal Humanities, 2 (November 1990), pp.163-81. Duminy presumably refers to A.P. Burke & Sir B. Burke (eds.), A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Colonial Gentry, 1 and 2 (London: Harrison & Sons, 1891 & 1895).

<sup>112</sup> Duminy, 'The Methleys of the Natal Midlands', pp.163-81. R. Ross, 'The Rise of the Cape Gentry', in Journal of Southern African Studies, 9, 2 (April 1983) p.195, uses this term in the Cape context when he refers to the Cape Gentry as the 'relatively prosperous market-orientated farm owner-operators.'

<sup>113</sup> Thorstein Veblen, 'The Theory of the Leisure Class' in Bendix and Lipset (eds), Class, Status and Power, p.42, wrote that as the population increases in density, and as human relations grow more complex and numerous, all the details of life undergo a process of elaboration and selection 'and in this process of elaboration the use of trophies develops into a system of rank, titles, degrees and insignia, typical examples of which are heraldic devices, medals, and honorary decorations.'

in Durban's history in this regard were Sir Benjamin Greenacre,<sup>114</sup> the Hon. Sir Marshall Campbell,<sup>115</sup> Sir George Payne,<sup>116</sup> Sir Frank Reynolds,<sup>117</sup> the Hon. George Leuchars,<sup>118</sup> Sir J.L. Hulett,<sup>119</sup> the Hon. J.G. Maydon,<sup>120</sup> the Hon. R. Jameson<sup>121</sup> and the Hon. Sir W. Arbuckle.<sup>122</sup>

Two British settler Prime Ministers, relevant in the Durban context, who acquired these distinctions for administration in the Natal Government were Sir John Robinson<sup>123</sup> and the Hon. Harry Escombe.<sup>124</sup>

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<sup>114</sup> B.J.T. Leverton, '(Sir) Benjamin Greenacre', in Dictionary of South African Biography, 3, pp.344-5.

<sup>115</sup> Leverton, '(Sir) Marshall Campbell', in *ibid.*, 2, pp.121-2.

<sup>116</sup> Leverton, '(Sir) George Payne', in *ibid.*, 3, pp.677-8.

<sup>117</sup> R.F.O., '(Sir) Frank Umhlali Reynolds', in *ibid.*, 2, p. 592.

<sup>118</sup> Leverton, '(Sir) George Leuchars', in *ibid.*, 3, pp.513-4.

<sup>119</sup> Leverton, 'Sir Liege Hulett', in *ibid.*, 4, p.247; Twentieth Century Impressions of Natal: Its People, Commerce, Industries, and Resources (Natal: Lloyds Greater Britain Publishing Company, 1906), pp.47-8.

<sup>120</sup> Leverton, 'John George Maydon', in Dictionary of South African Biography, 2, pp.455-6; Twentieth Century Impressions, p.49.

<sup>121</sup> Twentieth Century Impressions, p.40.

<sup>122</sup> Leverton, '(Sir) William Arbuckle', in Dictionary of South African Biography, 3, p.29.

<sup>123</sup> M.C. van Zyl, '(Sir) John Robinson', in *ibid.*, 1, pp.675-6.

<sup>124</sup> Leverton, 'Harry Escombe (Hon.)', in *ibid.*, 1, pp.280-1.

An 'intermediate' group of lesser gentry who were merchants or owned farms and employed many people had a higher standing than managers and supervisors of farms, but all could move into the 'upper stratum'. Their doing so depended upon their rising in social estimation, which could be influenced by their lifestyle. The process of people achieving certain positions in occupational class or status hierarchies is called status attainment.<sup>125</sup>

A typical example in the colonial context would be James Methley, a farmer in the Natal Midlands. Methley moved from an 'intermediate' position in the class model to 'positively privileged' because of successful entrepreneurship in agriculture and trade. His upward mobility probably was enhanced by his lifestyle and an appointment in 1856 to a position of social leadership, namely Justice of the Peace.<sup>126</sup>

Another example of a prominent figure in Durban social circles at the time was Marshall Campbell, whose town residence on the Berea (Muckleneuk) now houses the Campbell Collections. Marshall Campbell took over management of the Muckleneuk Sugar Estate from his brother William in 1865. He assumed management of various sugar estates along the North Coast and became an entrepreneur in agriculture and industry, moving into the positively privileged class. His movement into additional 'upper class' status was reinforced when he served in

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<sup>125</sup> Beeghley, The Structure of Social Stratification in the United States, pp. 61-8.

<sup>126</sup> Duminy, 'The Methleys of the Natal Midlands', p.164. Methley would share the same Weberian 'class situation' with others of upper class status by adopting a similar lifestyle. In 1860 he entertained government leaders and the Durban Mayor Hartley's wife among other notables.

the Legislative Council as a government nominee for the Natal coastal districts. After Responsible government was introduced in 1893, he was returned to the Legislative Assembly for Victoria County and after Union represented Natal in the Senate.<sup>127</sup>

Similarly, Frank Umhlali Reynolds, owner of the Umzinto Sugar Estate, laid the foundations of Reynolds Bros. Ltd. and subsequently moved into the positively privileged class with correspondingly higher status when he was appointed to the Natal Legislative Council in 1893.<sup>128</sup>

The Durban merchant, G.C. Cato<sup>129</sup> moved as an entrepreneur and large property owner into the positively privileged category with further status as Justice of the Peace in 1846 and as Mayor of Durban in 1854. He was nominated by the Governor to the Natal Legislative Council in 1884 and remained in office until 30 April 1887.<sup>130</sup>

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<sup>127</sup> Leverton, '(Sir) Marshall Campbell', in Dictionary of South African Biography, 2, pp.121-2; The Natal Mercury, May - June Series, 1954: 'Pioneers of Durban.' Marshall Campbell became Manager of Natal Estates Limited in 1879 with interests in the Natal Refinery, the Tongaat Central Sugar Company and the Molassine Meal Company.

<sup>128</sup> R.F.O., '(Sir) Frank Reynolds', in Dictionary of South African Biography, 2, p.592.

<sup>129</sup> Leverton, 'George Christopher Cato', in *ibid.*, 2, pp.126-7; Eric Goetzsche, Father of a City (Pietermaritzburg: Shuter & Snooter, 1966), p.28; Natal Mercury, 9 August 1954. G.C.Cato owned two estates, called Cato Manor and Cato Ridge (the farm 'Ditkomst'), given to him by the Natal Government after the British annexation of Natal in return for his services. In 1848 he bought the land called 'Cato Creek', where the present Umgeni River (also referred to as Mgeni) originally came into Durban.

<sup>130</sup> Leverton, 'George Christopher Cato', in Dictionary of South African Biography, 2, pp.126-7.



The Durban jeweller, Felix Hollander, attained higher status when he was elected Councillor and subsequently Mayor between 1910-1913.<sup>131</sup>

John Hunt, a carpenter, moved up in class when he became a builder. As a successful entrepreneur he was co-founder of the well-known firm, Hunt, Leuchars and Hepburn Ltd.; and as a proprietor in a managerial position he moved into the positively privileged stratum, increasing his acquired status when he became Mayor.<sup>132</sup>

In sharp contrast to the 'Settler Elite' in Durban society were unskilled groupings from the lower and residual strata with low levels of education. They were accredited with low status as they did not have a great deal of prestige in colonial Durban society. This categorization was especially applied as a result of typical colonial attitudes<sup>133</sup> to people of other races. The 'lesser breeds' were considered lower on the ladder of evolution and not worthy of full acceptance in society. Related to this sentiment was an inherent anti-Indian feeling, worsened by economic competition. No matter how much Indians achieved in an improved class position, their status in the estimation of the majority of White settlers, remained low. Human relations were affected by racism in the

<sup>131</sup> Leventon, 'Felix Hollander', in *ibid.*, 3, pp.409-10.

<sup>132</sup> Durban Local History Museum: File 572133: 581 H 'Hunt, John': Mrs. M. Bevis, 'John Hunt - a Biography (Durban, ?), pp.1-5. See also: Don Africana Museum, Durban: William W. Percy 'John Hunt - a Biography' (Durban, May, 1949), pp.1-5.

<sup>133</sup> E. Wayne Nafziger, African Society Today: Inequality in Africa Political Elites, Proletariat, Peasants and the Poor (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp.35-50; Stephen Katz, Marxism, Africa and Social Class: a Critique of Relevant Theories (Montreal, Quebec: McGill University, Centre for Developing-Area Studies, 1980), p.5.

colonial situation.<sup>134</sup> The disadvantaged status situation ascribed to other ethnic groups by the discrimination of the dominant group whose 'pride turned into an arrogance of status',<sup>135</sup> more than likely created among such people a sense of shared social fate that supported their communal solidarity. Despite the enveloping class and status structure enforced by some of the prejudiced dominant British minority, they could, however, still partly create their own worlds, their own history and suburban life.

The picture derived from this discussion of colonial Durban society, therefore, is that it was unequal. There was a class dimension to the unequal structure involving both a differentiation of occupations and the formation of groups amongst those similarly placed in the market-structure for the defence of their interests; there was also a status dimension in terms of which some groups had certain valued characteristics which afforded them greater esteem than was given to those who had them in lesser degree. Status estimation was strongly tinged with the concept of colour in the colonial Durban context; a racial element clouded White perceptions of other races. Finally there was the power dimension, which will be discussed in Chapter 2, in terms of which some individuals were capable of commanding the behaviour of others.

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<sup>134</sup> John Rex, Race Relations in Sociological Theory (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1983), p.189.

<sup>135</sup> Ferdinand Toennies, 'Estates and Classes', in Bendix and Lipset (eds), Class, Status and Power, p.50.

## Chapter 2

The Institutionalization of Power Arrangements.

'One can define social stratification as the study of the institutionalization of power arrangements that perpetuate economic, political and social inequality among individuals and social groups within a society.'<sup>1</sup>

'Power', the third dimension in Weber's heuristic model,<sup>2</sup> is seldom explicitly treated as a dimension of stratification in the same way as class and status. Weber is concerned usually with the relative power of classes and status-strata rather than with the hierarchy of power per se.<sup>3</sup> Some members of Durban colonial society (or any other society) could, as a result of the distribution of material goods (such as land, machinery or income), as well as non-material goods (such as social and occupational positions or political power), be collectively grouped as being the dominant force in that society.

It has been established in Chapter 1, in a Weberian exercise, which members of Durban society could be grouped in the higher economic and social brackets. The question to be dealt with in this chapter is how the upper stratum preserved the social status quo. They did so by institutionalizing power arrangements to maintain control,

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<sup>1</sup> A. Paul Hare, Gerd Wiendieck, Max von Broembsen, South Africa: Sociological Analysis (Cape Town: O.U.P., 1979), p.271.

<sup>2</sup> Weber, 'article' in Weber, Roth and Wittich (eds.), Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretative Sociology, vol. 1, pp. 302-7; vol.2, pp.126-39.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., vol.1, pp.285, 306. See also: Bottomore, Classes in Modern Society, pp.664-5. Beetham, Max Weber, pp.58, 127, wrote that Weber saw that the entrepreneurial class would inevitably wield a political influence consistent with their economic power, and sought to emphasise a political dimension which would transcend class and economic interest.

which in turn perpetuated economic, social and political inequality among individual and social groups in colonial Durban.

The Durban Town Council is a manifestation of the institutionalization of such power arrangements. Through this controlling body (which is but one form of 'legitimate domination' or authority), the dominant British class acquired or preserved the 'privilege'<sup>4</sup> of possessing and exercising power. Qualified individuals were personally selected in a partially democratic manner by others in the White Durban community as being fit to perform in a political role. A political class thus emerged. For Bottomore, a 'political class' refers to all those groups who exercise political power or influence, and are 'directly engaged in struggles for leadership.'<sup>5</sup> A pattern of politically structured inequalities was thereby set in operation in institutionalized form; a structure of domination was established. The Durban Town Council may therefore be viewed in colonial times simply as the instrument or property of the ruling classes.

Bottomore offers four remarks which may serve to highlight the essence of Weber's view of the relationship between power and authority. Firstly, Weber saw power as extending much further than authority; some more wealthy and influential strata used their rank to pursue their own interests. Bottomore believes that

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<sup>4</sup> Edward G. Grabb, Social Inequality: Classical and Contemporary Theorists (Toronto, Ontario: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1984), p.107.

<sup>5</sup> T.B. Bottomore, Elites and Society (London: Penguin, 1966), p.14.

Weber's theory of class is based on this idea. <sup>6</sup> Colonial Durban is an ideal example of a market-based society. The existence of a market with labour is in itself 'a defining structural feature of capitalist society';<sup>7</sup> the upper stratum who controlled material production was wealthier and, therefore, more influential than the lower strata. Secondly, Weber was 'naturally inclined to a "realistic" power analysis, especially of "democratic" forms of authority.' <sup>8</sup> Like other elite theorists, Weber accepted 'the law of the small number' - namely the principle that because of complexity and the need for specialised skills and organizational dynamics, ruling minorities are indispensable to the very existence of an organization. The concept of 'selection' provided Weber with a perspective and a tool for analysis rather than with a dogma.

Bottomore states:

'...the need for outstanding leaders and elites is most keenly felt by the population wherever complex and difficult social changes are taking place and the familiar ways of life are disappearing.'<sup>9</sup>

In colonial Durban, we have an excellent opportunity to examine the social forces which were creating new leaders, as well as the activities of the leaders themselves in the transformation of their society. The formation of a colonial settler elite was made legitimate with the limitation of political rights in the urban electoral system to those with privileged access to private property;

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<sup>6</sup> Bottomore, Classes in Modern Society, pp. 664-5.

<sup>7</sup> Stewart, Frandy and Blackburn, Social Stratification and Occupations, pp. 190-1.

<sup>8</sup> Bottomore, Classes in Modern Society, pp. 664-5.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., p. 93; Beetham, Max Weber, p. 43.

the translation of economic into political power was hereby effected. According to Bottomore, Weber in general

'...spoke of the acceptance of the 'myth' of the natural superiority of the highly privileged strata under conditions of stable distribution of power and, consequently, of status order.'<sup>10</sup>

Thirdly, Weber assumed that the type of authority is, in any particular case of domination, basic to, and, to a significant extent, explanatory of

'...the kind of relationship between the master or masters and the apparatus; the kind of relationship of both to be ruled, and ...its specific 'organizational structure', i.e. its specific way of distributing the powers of command.'<sup>11</sup>

This naturally flows from the superiority of the 'selected few'. Weber fourthly stressed the ultimate role of power in the form of coercion 'as an indispensable underpinning for the exercise of authority...'<sup>12</sup>.

Milton Friedman, the American economist, agreed with Weber on his view of the role of power, and stated that the institution of government is

'...the agency that is widely regarded as having a monopoly on the legitimate use of force as the means through which some of us can legitimately impose restraints through force upon others of us.'<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Bottomore, Elites and Society, p.31; Beetham, Max Weber, pp. 102-4.

<sup>11</sup> Bottomore, Classes in Modern Society, p.664.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., pp.664-5.

<sup>13</sup> Milton Friedman, Free to Choose (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1980), p.27.

Friedman also wrote that 'government' is

'...a form of voluntary cooperation',... 'a way in which people choose to achieve some of their objectives through governmental entities because they believe that it is the most effective means of achieving them.'<sup>14</sup>

In this chapter the economic and social conditions which made it possible for an extremely small proportion of the population in the colonial city of Durban to acquire, in a limited democratic context, the authority to control resources through the Durban Town Council as a governmental entity, are investigated.

Where does this governmental entity, this vehicle of power, enter into the picture in the Durban context? It stood to reason that the dominant British settlers in Durban would, in their institutionalization of political arrangements, strongly favour a form of British municipal rule based on that developed in Britain. The first Durban municipality was established in 1854 by legislation which was closely copied from the British Municipal Corporations Act of 1835.<sup>15</sup> The process of institutionalization of political arrangements was set in motion by Lieutenant-Governor Benjamin C.C.

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Derek Fraser, Power and Authority in the Victorian City (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), pp.149-73, writes that the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835 in England, which established elective town councils on a household suffrage and rate-paying franchise, made possible the erection of local government institutions in towns of novel and rapid growth. B. Keith-Lucas, English Local Government in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries (London: Historical Association, 1977), pp.10-13, views this act as a reaction against the corruption and financial incompetence of the old corporations of England.

Pine, a protagonist for Natal municipal interests.<sup>14</sup> He was strongly supported by the British in Durban.<sup>17</sup> L.P. Green comments: 'The second chapter in the history of local government in South Africa was written in Natal between 1854 and 1908'<sup>18</sup> when this form of government was first introduced in Durban and Pietermaritzburg.

The advantages of municipal government to the Natal Government were two-fold: there were the decentralisation of administration and the spreading of the cost of local services by getting users to help themselves. Local government would, as Pine intended, serve as a first step towards representative government - a political status

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<sup>14</sup> Natal Mercury, 19 October 1853: Supplement. The Home Government also urged Pine to encourage the development of local government. Justin L. Hall, 'Government Policy and Public Attitudes during the Administration of Natal by Lieutenant-Governor Sir Benjamin C.C. Pine 1850-1855' (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, 1969), pp.143-56. L.P. Green, History of Local Government in South Africa (Cape Town: Juta, 1975), p.42.

<sup>17</sup> Natal Times, 29 August 1851; 5 September 1851; 12 September 1851; 19 April 1852: Supplement; 19 June 1852; 19 July 1852; D'Urban Observer, 12 September 1851; 24 October 1851; 21 November 1851; 28 November 1851; 5 December 1851; 12 December 1851; 20 February 1852; 12 March 1852; Natal Mercury, 28 September 1853; 19 October 1853: Supplement; Natal Times and D'Urban Observer, which faced increasing difficulties, ceased publication early in 1853. The Natal Mercury, which started publication late in 1852, took up the matter of the Draft Ordinance.

<sup>18</sup> Green, Local Government in South Africa, p.1. Pietermaritzburg residents, after a public meeting held on 15 August 1846, drew up a petition for the establishment of a municipal government. The outcome was Sir Henry Pottinger's Ordinance passed by the Cape Legislative Council and gazetted on 30 March 1847, which applied the 1836 Cape Municipal Ordinance to Natal with hardly a change in its provisions. Durban residents declined as not practical enough the application to Durban of this Natal Municipal Ordinance of 1847 which provided for a Board of Commissioners elected by householders every three years with rates levied annually by a public meeting. See *ibid.*, p.27 and L.P. Green, 'Foundations of Local Self-Government in a Multi-Racial Society, Durban', in Municipal Affairs, 17, 22 (June 1952), pp.41-7.



achieved in Natal in 1856.<sup>19</sup> The healthy respect that existed in Britain for the tradition that energetic towns and cities should govern their own municipal affairs, within a general framework of law,<sup>20</sup> was thus continued in Natal.

Durban and Pietermaritzburg, closely following the British tradition, were accordingly declared 'boroughs' to be governed by town councils. The typically British term 'borough', which implies a town or municipal urban area in Great Britain of a minimum size and population, incorporated for purposes of self-government by an act of Parliament,<sup>21</sup> has relevance to colonial Natal. The Durban and Pietermaritzburg Town Councils were established in 1854 within the constitutional framework set out by Ordinance 1 of 1854.<sup>22</sup> The rich resource of allocated Town Estate entrusted to the Durban<sup>23</sup> and Pietermaritzburg Town Councils was also stipulated by Ordinance 1, 1854.

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<sup>19</sup> Natal Mercury, 19 October 1853: Supplement. Subjoined despatches, including the St. George-MacLeroy report recommendations of 1853 for Representative Government in Natal, were accordingly presented by Pine to the Cape Legislative Council in 1853. See Green, Local Government, pp.42; 97.

<sup>20</sup> Margaret Bowman and William Hampton, Local Democracies: A Study in Comparative Local Government (Melbourne: Longman, 1983), pp.14-16; W.D. Vosloo, D.A. Kotze and W.J.O. Jeppe, Local Government in South Africa (Pretoria: Academica, 1974), pp.20-1.

<sup>21</sup> Merriam-Webster Editorial Staff (compilers), Webster's Third New International Dictionary, 1 (U.S.A.: William Benton, 1966), p.256.

<sup>22</sup> Natal Mercury, 3 May 1854: Supplement; *ibid.*, 8 March 1854.

<sup>23</sup> The extent of the Durban Town Lands was stipulated as 6 096 acres. The Title Deeds were handed over to the Durban Town Council by the Natal Government on 19 July 1855. The Natal Government still retained, by instructions from the British Government, three reserves, viz. for Ordinance, for Admiralty and Town Commonage purposes. See Government Surveyor's Office: Original Diagram Copy 1846 (Figure 2 - Chapter 4) and Natal Mercury, 3 May 1854: Supplement.

The First Borough Seal of the Durban  
Town Council.



A number of enthusiastic citizens submitted designs for a Borough Seal, and that submitted by Mr. C.J. Cato, the Mayor's brother, was approved.

The Borough Seal was presented to the Durban Town Council on July 19, 1855 by the Mayor, G.C. Cato, having in prospective the Bluff, Point, Town of Durban, surmounted by a five-pointed star (taken from the design of Mr. George Russell, one of the unsuccessful competitors) intended as an emblem of the Star of Bethlehem and typifying the Nativity and the East. The design was cut in silver and attached to a handle of native ivory in a silver band, on which were inscribed the names of the Councillors. It was to be used at all times as the Seal of the Borough of Durban in terms of Ordinance 1, 1854 and was deposited in the custody of the Mayor. It continued in use until September 19, 1882, when the present Seal was adopted. The old Seal was then handed to the Durban Local History Museum.

The extent of the regional urban size of the Durban Borough was bounded to the east by the Indian Ocean, to the north by the Umgeni River, to the north west by the farms Springfield, Brickfields and Cato's Manor, and to the south and south east by the Umbilo River and the Bay of Natal.<sup>24</sup> The borders, as such, were largely dictated by topography, including the natural barriers of sea (the Indian Ocean), two rivers (the Umgeni and Umbilo), and a ridge (the Berea ridge).

The Durban and Pietermaritzburg Boroughs each had a White population of 1 000 and more.<sup>25</sup> Property qualifications and the British terms of 'Mayor' and 'Councillor' were used in the Town Councils instead of the typically Dutch term of 'Board of Commissioners' used in the Cape Colony and Pietermaritzburg prior to 1854. The election of a 'Mayor', who was to be ex officio a Justice of the Peace during his term of office and for one year afterwards, was a provision similar to that provided by the English Municipal Corporation Act of 1835.<sup>26</sup> The Durban Town Council would consist of a Mayor and seven Councillors, to hold office for one year but to be re-eligible every year, and who would have a common Seal.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> Durban's White population of 1 204 in this municipal milestone year of 1854 comprised 316 adult males, 263 female adults and the balance were children (313 male and 312 female children). See *ibid.*, 7 June 1854.

<sup>26</sup> Keith-Lucas, English Local Government in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, pp.10-13; Vosloo, Kotze and Jeppe, Local Government in South Africa, pp.20-1.

<sup>27</sup> Russell, Old Durban: Frontispiece: The First Borough Seal of the Durban Town Council (see illustration). See also illustration: Coat-of-Arms City of Durban.

Two Councillors were to represent each of the initial four wards.<sup>28</sup>

The Durban Town Council was now established as a limited democratic institution within Durban colonial society; the qualification of Councillors was legally acknowledged to be £100 immovable property, clear of mortgages. No person could qualify to be elected as a Councillor who was not enrolled or entitled to be enrolled as a burgess, that is, a citizen of the borough and entitled to vote under this Ordinance. Such a person also had to be 'invited' to become a candidate by a requisition signed by at least three qualified voters of the ward, to be submitted to the Resident Magistrate.<sup>29</sup> Those qualified to vote had to be above 21 years of age and in possession of immovable property of the yearly value of £25, or £5 if occupied only for six months prior to the election. Aliens, who had not been naturalised by Act of the Imperial Parliament or by deed of burghership, and persons who had been convicted of some criminal act, were not qualified to vote.<sup>30</sup> Out of 316 White adult males in 1854, only 229 qualified as voters and 8 as Councillors. Once elected and upgraded to this responsible position, the Councillors chose a Mayor

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<sup>28</sup> See Fletcher's Plan of Durban, 1905 for Ward Divisions in Appendix G. In September 1877, Ward 5 was created by curtailing the areas of Ward 1 and 4, and in 1882 Ward 6 was laid off. The divisions of the six wards, however, proved unsuitable for the distribution of the population. As a consequence, amended divisional boundaries were approved in December 1892. Between the years 1883 and 1904, several motions were discussed by the Town Council with a view to increasing the number of Councillors by the creation of extra wards, but the position remained unaltered. In 1905, Ward 7 was created by diminishing the area of Ward 5, thereby increasing the number of Councillors to fourteen. The total rateable value of the land by 1910 was £9 686 470 with a total population of 64 689, of whom 30 030 were Whites. See Official South African Yearbook 1909 (Cape Town: The South African Newspaper Co., 1910), pp.247-314.

<sup>29</sup> Natal Mercury: Supplement, 3 May 1854.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*

from among themselves, as nominal head of this municipal institution.<sup>31</sup> Restricted suffrage laid down by this Ordinance ensured that only persons from any economic sector with ownership of property had political rights and could qualify as voters. This meant that the poor were least able to participate in electoral procedures. The wealthier property owners, with sufficient leisure for extended non-economic pursuits, were most likely to be elected by qualified voters to the positions of Councillors, thus becoming part of a colonial settler elite. The disproportionate distribution of resources thus expressed itself in the institutionalization of political arrangements by an electoral system based on property valuation.<sup>32</sup>

Such a power structure thus ensured the perpetuation of the social order, with its inequalities, within White Durban colonial society. It is therefore possible to infer that the rich in colonial times had a great deal of power reinforced and created by economic and social conditions.<sup>33</sup> Opportunity was provided for a certain amount of legitimate expression of popular and voluntary preferences, although significant action was confined to a small minority of the population. That the British sector of Durban society accepted

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<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

<sup>32</sup> Max Weber, in his early works, admired this restricted form of voting in the British parliamentary system. The extension of this suffrage becomes a moot point in Weber's later works when he loses some faith in the British Parliamentary system as an ideal model to be followed by Germany. See Beetham, Max Weber, pp. 161, 195-6.

<sup>33</sup> Beeghley, Social Stratification in America, p.37. Weber saw capitalism as 'the most fateful force of modern life - that struggle and conflict form a central and permanent feature of social life.' This implies struggle between groups, classes, nations, as well as the conflict between differing values. 'There is no peace in the economic struggle for existence...only the illusion of peace.' See Beetham, Max Weber, pp.19-20, 36-62.

inequality as inevitable, and admired those with superior financial attributes enough to accept their dominance, indicates the degree of consensus that prevailed in entrusting power into the hands of these few. Such an acceptance in turn ties in with Weber's theory of how leadership functions in society.<sup>34</sup>

The first Durban Town Council assembled to elect a Mayor on Saturday, 5 August 1854, in the Court Room<sup>35</sup> of the Resident Magistrate, H.J. Meller. They did so 'with bunting, posters and ribbon favours...' <sup>36</sup> and such refreshments as would have featured in local government elections in any British provincial town. George Christopher Cato,<sup>37</sup> considered the wealthiest property-owner and known as 'King' Cato,<sup>38</sup> naturally qualified for election as a Councillor. Once he was elected, the Councillors chose him as the first Mayor of Durban.<sup>39</sup> He was re-elected the following year. At the end of his first term, in August 1855, he began the practice of publishing an annual Mayor's Minute, which is now a feature of municipal government throughout Southern Africa.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Beeghley, Social Stratification in America, pp. 102-4.

<sup>35</sup> This Court Room stood on the corner of Field and Smith Streets. The site is at present occupied by the Allied Building Society. A plaque displayed outside the building commemorates the first meeting of the Durban Town Council which was held on this site. Natal Mercury, 25 July 1854 reported on the procedure followed.

<sup>36</sup> Russell, History of Old Durban, p.209.

<sup>37</sup> See illustration.

<sup>38</sup> Durban Local History Museum: File 572133: 581 C: 'George Christopher Cato': Article by W.H. Middleton: 'King Cato'. (The same article reappeared in The Natal Mercury, 4 December 1901). Middleton, a contemporary of Cato, wrote that when he arrived in 1849, 'Cato owned most of the erven of Durban, which was nearly confined to the East End'.

<sup>39</sup> Russell, Old Durban, pp.16-7, 61, 86.

<sup>40</sup> Leverton, 'George Christopher Cato', in Dictionary of South African Biography, 2, pp.126-7.

Besides Dr. Charles Johnston, a medical practitioner, the elected Councillors in 1854 were all merchants.<sup>41</sup> They were already in the upper middle class stratum (according to the suggested class model in Appendix A in Chapter 1). The repeated choice of Cato as Mayor in 1855 emphasised that he and the other members of the Town Council from the upper middle class would by colonial standards be considered suitably wealthy and influential, both individually and as an aggregate, and were held in high social esteem by other members of Durban society.

In colonial Durban society, power was class based. Focusing on the class basis of power makes it possible to understand the nature of stratification (See Appendix A). The suggested class power model (See Appendix D) in the colonial context, thus makes it evident that the Mayors (nominal heads) and Councillors in the Durban Town Council constituted a 'political class' or a 'ruling class'. This also implies that they shared a similar class situation with similar occupational characteristics such as income, source of income, political power and many other attributes, which conditioned their lifestyle and were admired by others. Power is not confined only to individuals -

'...because the ability to achieve goals is highly correlated with class, people with similar interests often act in concert and discriminate against others, even though they are not formally organized into groups. Hence, it is not possible to understand the nature of stratification without focusing on the class basis of power.'<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Ward 1: George Christopher Cato and James Blackwood; Ward 2: John Millar and George Henry; Ward 3: Alfred Evans and Richard Harwin; Ward 4: Charles Johnston and Robert Raw. See Russell, Old Durban, p.209.

<sup>42</sup> Beeghley, The Structure of Social Stratification, p.18.





An oil painting, in possession of W.J. Chapman Esq., copied from an original water colour belonging to the Acutt family.

The first double storey building on the corner of Smith and Gardiner Streets in Durban, was built for Messrs. Middleton, Acutt & Wirsing in the 1850's. A small portion of the ground floor was then used as the Post Office. The upper floor was rented by the government for use as a magistrate court and offices. In this room the first meetings of the town council were held by permission of the magistrate, viz. from 1854 to 1861, when offices leased in West Street were used. Premises on the extreme right were occupied by the firm of Robert Acutt & Sons.

Photo. (Copyright: Local History Museum).



This political class in the colonial context had more influence than did those who did not rule over the distribution of valued resources. Max Weber's definition of power as the ability of an individual or group to get things done, to achieve goals, even over the opposition of others, has become standard. 'It follows that people have power when they can choose to spend or withhold money, prestige, or other rewards from others.'<sup>43</sup> These Mayors, drawn from the White electorate and of British settler stock, acted as a class individually and in concert with other Councillors in the Durban Town Council to take active measures to develop the town. As such this homogeneous political class in the Durban Town Council initiated necessary programmes within the colonial constitutional framework by scheduled Council and Committee Meetings.<sup>44</sup> They were financed by the sale, lease and mortgage of the valuable Durban Town Lands entrusted to them by Ordinance 1, 1854, as well as deriving income from rateable property.<sup>45</sup> All revenue raised as such by the Council, together with money collected from fines, licences, assizing, toll dues and other minor incomes, formed a fund, called the 'Borough Fund'.<sup>46</sup> All cost and expenses were paid out of this fund.

How did the British element dominating Durban colonial society,

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<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> See Appendix F.

<sup>45</sup> The annual Borough rates were collected by the Durban Town Council on an annual assessment made of the value of property, as well as on an estimate of money required for carrying out their functions. See Natal Mercury, 3 May 1854: Supplement.

<sup>46</sup> The Borough Fund account was initially kept at the Natal Bank. See Bjorvig, 'History of the Durban Town Council, 1854-1879', p.41.

represented by the 'selected few' (see Appendix D and E) on the Durban Town Council and elected through a system based on property valuation, establish social order in the city? It appointed and allocated duties of law enforcement to a subordinate body, namely the Durban Borough Police, aided by a code of culturally determined behaviour, widely copied from Britain.<sup>47</sup>

Robert Park has written that the basic problem of urban society was the problem of achieving in the freedom of the city a social order and a social control equivalent to that which grew up naturally in the family, the clan, and the tribe.<sup>48</sup> There were circumstances of colonial life which reinforced the idea that a high degree of social control was desirable. The colonial cities of Durban and Pietermaritzburg, the two largest urban centres in Natal, were isolated settlements. The serving Mayor of Durban, Alexander McArthur, expressed in his address to Sir George Grey at the inauguration of the Natal Railways in 1860, an element of fear, and wished for greater military control by Britain:

'The never-ceasing unregulated influx of natives from the Zulu County...the ever-increasing power of chiefs within our own territory, uncontrolled by any effective system of supervision - calls for the gravest consideration and the utmost vigilance and firmness on the part of Your Excellency and the authorities on the spot.'<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> Gordon Cherry, Cities and Plans (London: Edward Arnold, 1988), p.40 describes the British model of the by-law system.

<sup>48</sup> Charles N. Glaab and A. Theodore Brown, A History of Urban America (Wisconsin-Milwaukee: MacMillan & Co., 1967), p.251, quoting Robert Park.

<sup>49</sup> W.F.M. Henderson, Durban: Fifty Years of Municipal History 1854-1904 (Durban: Robinson & Co., 1904), pp.43.

Control was simply necessary in the interest of survival.<sup>50</sup> Necessity helps to explain the closely regulated character of life in the first generation or two of Durban. The Natal Government's Municipal Ordinance No.1 of 1854<sup>51</sup> placed the policing of Durban under the control of a Police Board, which was formed on 1 January 1856, and comprised the Mayor of Durban, G.C. Cato, a Councillor, J. Millar, and the local Resident Magistrate, H.J. Mellor.<sup>52</sup>

'These deep roots of policing in Durban come from the innate feeling that the English have in respect for law. It is a principle they have exported all over the world, so that, although the English of the past - and in the present - often take the law into their own hands, over centuries a strong ideal of the principles of law became inherent in their way of life. The English eventually, and very slowly, saw the need for a regular policing force and it was the pattern of that force which was copied, with more or less, adherence to the original, in many of the colonies and in Durban.'<sup>53</sup>

The Municipal Amendment Law, Law No.21 of 1861, enabled the Durban Town Council to take over the Police Force.<sup>54</sup> The expense was partly met by money from licences.<sup>55</sup> No time was wasted in appointing a Chief Constable, R.F. Bennett, two Sergeants and six

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<sup>50</sup> Order precedes law. The term 'law and order' should accordingly be reversed and should read 'order and law.' A high priority was thus placed on the maintenance of order and the rule of law had to be upheld. Individual rights had to be guaranteed. Certain individual rights, for example property rights, had to be made inviolable and even the majority of non-property holders were required to respect them.

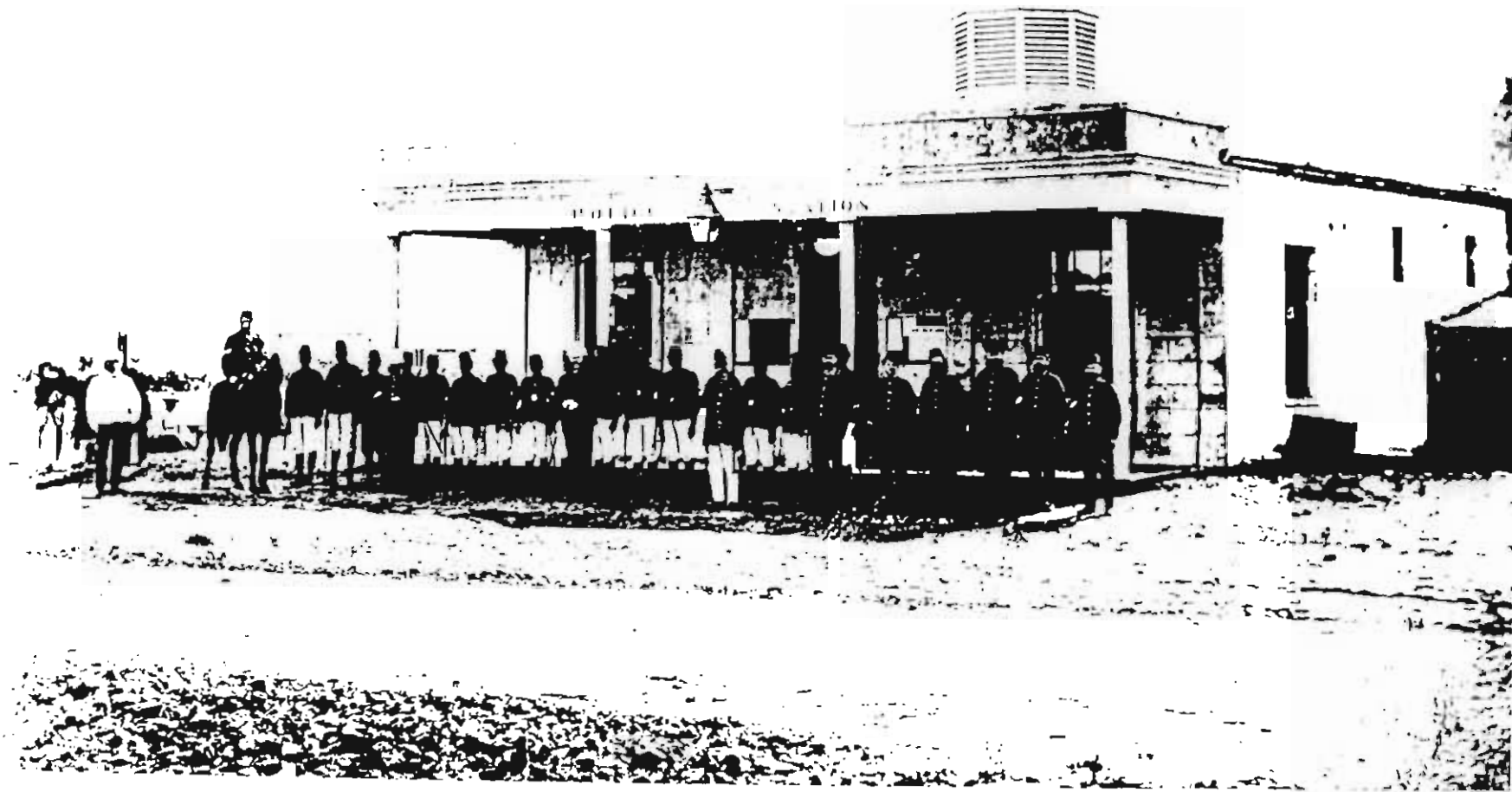
<sup>51</sup> Natal Mercury, 3 May 1854: Supplement.

<sup>52</sup> Reverend Jack Jewell, A History of the Durban City Police (Pietermaritzburg: Natal Witness, 1989), pp.4-5; Henderson, Fifty Years, p.47.

<sup>53</sup> Jewell, A History of the Durban City Police, pp.ix-x.

<sup>54</sup> Bjorvig, 'The History of the Durban Town Council, 1854-1879', pp.140-3.

<sup>55</sup> Natal Mercury, 3 May 1854: Supplement.



The Borough Police in 1878, showing the Police Station erected in 1863 on portion of the Market Square facing West Street.

Sub-Constables.<sup>56</sup> The Durban Borough Police Force took occupation on 25 March 1863 of a newly erected Police Station in West Street.<sup>57</sup> Four extra rooms were added in 1870 and a small unoccupied room in the rear of the station was fitted up as a mortuary.<sup>58</sup> Until 1870, the West Street Police Station, adjoining the Market Square, was the only station in Durban. A new Main Police Station was completed in 1900 to accommodate an increased Police Force, at a cost of £19 000, on 1 950 square metres of ground between West Street and Pine Street.<sup>59</sup>

With the physical growth of Durban and its population, police protection was extended to the suburbs. The Point, becoming more densely populated in the vicinity of Durban harbour, was the first to require protection. A station was erected at the junction of Southampton Street and Point Road opposite the Point terminal of the Natal Government Railway in 1878<sup>60</sup> and re-erected in 1903.<sup>61</sup> The next suburb which signed and forwarded a petition to the Durban Town Council for police protection, was the Berea. The Berea, or Musgrave Road, Police Station was erected in 1874. With alterations and additions from time to time it remained in use until June 1904, when the Berea police took occupation of the more spacious premises

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<sup>56</sup> Bjorvig, 'The History of the Durban Town Council, 1854-1879', pp.142-3.

<sup>57</sup> See illustration. See Jewell, Durban City Police, p.10.

<sup>58</sup> Bjorvig, 'The History of the Durban Town Council, 1854-1879', p.144..

<sup>59</sup> Henderson, Fifty Years, p.178.

<sup>60</sup> Jewell, Durban City Police, pp.12-3.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid. See David Bennett, Sally Adams and Rob Brusse, A Guide To The History and Architecture of Durban: The Point Area Walk (Durban: Heunis and Associates, 1987), pp.50-1.



R.C. Alexander, late of Her Majesty's Thirteenth Regiment was appointed Superintendent of the Durban Borough Police in May 1876.

erected on the site of the tramways stables further up on Musgrave Road. Sub-stations were erected at Umgeni in 1877 and Congella in 1880, cottages being rented for the purpose. Proper police stations were erected on the east side of Umgeni Road, opposite Goble Road, in 1881, at Greyville, on the site later occupied by the bowling green at the top end of Mitchell Road opposite the headquarters of the race course, in 1894, and in 1886 a new Congella Station was built, which stood on the corner of Pioneer and Umbilo Roads. New stations were built at Greyville and Moore Road in 1879. Mitchell Park Station, situated at the bend of Innes Road as it leaves the intersection of Musgrave Road and Florida Road, was built by 1904.<sup>42</sup> The Ocean Beach Police Station, built in 1909,<sup>43</sup> brought the number of stations to ten by 1910<sup>44</sup> (excluding count of the Togt Office for recruiting labour at the Point and police cells within the compound at the Sanitary Depot in Ordinance/Brickhill Road (1875).

When the Durban Borough Police was taken over by Superintendent R.C. Alexander in 1876 it consisted of four White Sergeants, seven White Constables and thirty-six African Constables. By 1879 within three years of his appointment, Alexander had increased their number to seventy-five.<sup>45</sup> The Durban Borough Police, as one single department falling under the authority for the Durban Town Council, drew labour

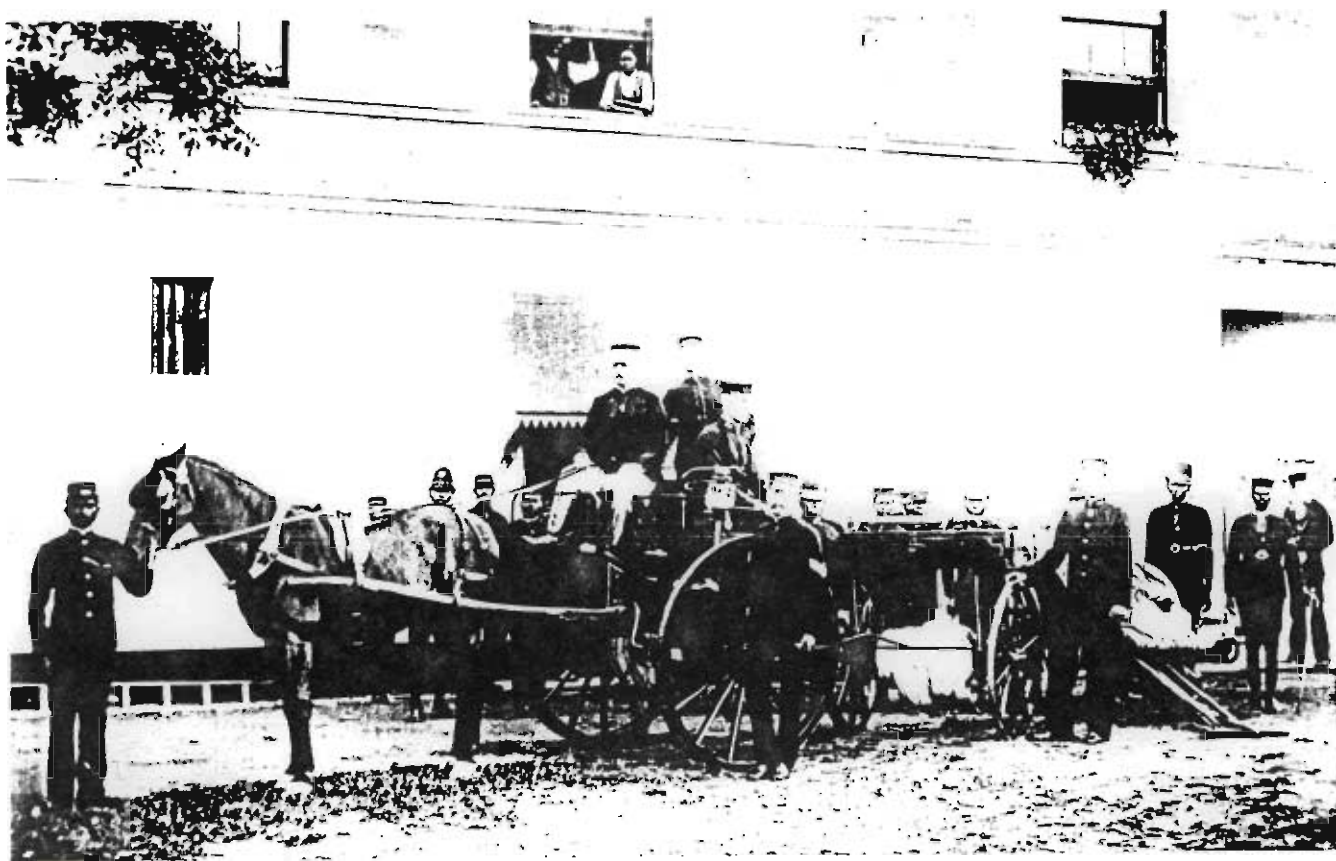
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<sup>42</sup> Jewell, City Police, pp.13-5.

<sup>43</sup> Durban Mayor's Minutes, 31 July 1909, pp. 10-5.

<sup>44</sup> Official South African Municipal Year Book 1911 (Johannesburg: Helm Publishers, 1911), p.159; Jewell, City Police, p.15.

<sup>45</sup> See illustration. See Bjorvig, 'History of the Durban Town Council, 1854-1879', pp.142-3; Jewell, City Police, pp.20-53. Superintendent R.C. Alexander succeeded Thomas Maxwell and remained in this post till 1906. Alexander was succeeded by Daniel Donavan from Ireland in 1907.



The Durban Fire Brigade, showing Superintendent R.C. Alexander of the Borough (seated on the box). Standing behind the Superintendent is the Chief Clerk, D. Goodwin. Seated behind the Superintendent is P.C. Lambeth, and standing, Sergeant Natts (on left) and P.C. Hines (on right).

Photo. (Copyright: Local History Museum).



from all races in their allocated duties of enforcing social order and law. The strength of the Force by 1911 had been increased to ninety-two Whites, eighteen Indians and two hundred and fifty Africans. This was in proportion to the population growth in Durban, which had increased from 9 189 in 1876 to 64 689 by 1911.<sup>46</sup> As the jurisdiction of the Borough Police terminated at the wharf, the Natal Government in 1877 brought the Water Police<sup>47</sup> into being to protect the Durban Bay and from 1865 also employed Railway Constables.

The municipal police structure thus reflected a determination on the part of the ruling group to control, but also provided services which were not necessarily functions of control. The duties of the Durban Borough Police varied from prevention and detection of crime to inspectional, licensing and other regulatory activities, including the maintenance of public order and safety, and enforcement of the law. Prior to 1879, they also performed streetkeepers' and street lighters' duties, sounded the bells to estimate the water supply, and acted as a Fire Brigade till 1899.<sup>48</sup> Borough Police duties extended further to safeguarding the health, safety, morals and welfare of the

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<sup>46</sup> Official South African Municipal Yearbook 1911, pp.155-59.

<sup>47</sup> NGG, vol.XXIX, no.1677, 20 November 1877: Law no.12, 1877.

<sup>48</sup> See illustration. See Natal Mercury, 3 May 1854: Proclamation in Supplement. The Council purchased a fire engine (hand-operated type) in 1865 and instructed the Police to extinguish fires. See Bjorvig, 'History of the Durban Town Council, 1854-1879', pp.143-60. In 1870 William Palmer, Agent for the Royal Insurance Company, presented the Council with a new powerful engine. See *ibid.*, pp. 66-72, 148. Fire Drill Regulations were drawn up in 1871 for the Fire Brigade. The Council purchased a steam fire engine in 1899 which replaced the other two vehicles and which was kept at the new Central Fire Station on Nicol Square bordering Pine Street. The Fire Brigade then became separate from the Police. See Durban Mayor's Minutes, 31 July 1899, pp.64-5; *ibid.*, 31 July 1906, pp.152-3. The Point Fire Station completed in September 1905, was formally handed over to the Fire Department by the Chairman of the Fire Committee, J. Nicol.

inhabitants of the borough. The Natal Centre of the St. John Ambulance Association presented the Borough Police with an ambulance wagon in 1909. This wagon was housed at the Central Fire Station and it was used by the Police for a small fee to move accident victims and sick people (other than those with infectious diseases).<sup>69</sup>

Further power arrangements to assist the Police in carrying out their duties were made possible by Ordinance No.1 of 1854 authorising the Durban Town Council to formulate by-laws. A penalty of £5 for offenders according to such by-laws, were framed and sanctioned by proclamation by the Natal Government in 1855.<sup>70</sup> Law No. 21 of 1861<sup>71</sup> and Law No. 19 of 1872<sup>72</sup> further empowered the Durban Town Council to make by-laws. Certain general and Police by-laws were passed on 2 February 1875.<sup>73</sup> Law No. 22 of 1894 and Act No. 27, 1906, amended and extended powers of the by-laws.<sup>74</sup> A detailed

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<sup>69</sup> Ibid., 31 July 1909, pp.15-20.

<sup>70</sup> NGB, vol.VII, no.324, 27 February 1855, p.324: Proclamation. A copy of the By-laws of the Borough of Durban, 1855 exists in the Mendelssohn Collection in the Parliamentary Library, as referred to by Barbara M. Bee, Historical Bibliography of the City of Durban, or Port Natal (University of Cape Town, September, 1946), p.18.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., vol.XIII, no.670, 27 August 1861, pp.333-8: Law no.21, 1861; *ibid.*, vol.XIV, no.722, 2 September 1862: Law, no.21, 1862 repealing Law, no.21, 1861.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid., vol.XXIV, no.1391, 24 December 1872, pp. 653-61: Law no.19, 1872.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., vol.XXVII, no.1517, 2 March 1875, pp.89-96: Proclamation.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid., vol.LVI, no.27, 14 August 1906, pp.1160-2: Act no.27, 1906; Durban Mayor's Minutes, 31 July 1906, Annexure F, pp.186-9. See Borough of Durban, Port Natal: Rules of Order of the Town Council, with the Laws, Ordinances, By-laws, and Proclamations affecting the Borough Durban (Durban: John Sanderson & Co., 1881) and R.L. Hitchins, Laws, By-laws and Regulations of the Borough of Durban (Durban: Robinson, 1915) for a general overview of by-laws.

description of these by-laws has been omitted in this chapter, due to lack of space. Suffice it to say that the significance of such law enforcement in city-control by the Council (as delegated to a subordinate body, the Durban City Police and executed through their separate functions, such as public health, licensing and others), highlighted once again that the law reflected and reinforced the status quo prevalent in colonial Durban society. Coercion, or the threat of force, is, according to Weber, 'an indispensable underpinning of authority...'<sup>75</sup>. As representatives in Council of the dominant sector<sup>76</sup> of Durban society, this elected political class,<sup>77</sup> who had now acquired the monopoly of political power, often acted in concert to monopolize economic opportunities and to practise social conventions and traditions of various kinds to express and protect their lifestyles. Such a view underlies the views also of the social theorist, C. Wright Mills, when he emphasized that, owing to an unequal distribution of power within the structure of society,

'positions of domination and subordination are inevitably found. These two positional types constitute the most important parts of the social structure...the power structure determines the nature and characteristics of the social structure as such and the nature and quality of the society's way of existence.'<sup>78</sup>

Weber's 'law of the small number', as explained at the beginning of

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<sup>75</sup> Bottomore, Classes in Society, pp.664-5.

<sup>76</sup> To King, Colonial Urban Development, p.40, the 'colonial city was a "container" of cultural pluralism but where one particular cultural section had the monopoly of political power.'

<sup>77</sup> See Appendices D and E.

<sup>78</sup> Nerina Jansen, 'C. Wright Mills: Social Critic', in Dian Joubert (ed.), Societas 11: A Series of Social Science Monographs (Pretoria: H. & R. Academica, 1980), p.35. See also: J.E.T. Eldridge, 'C. Wright Mills', in Peter Hamilton (ed.), Key Sociologists Series (Chichester, Sussex: Ellis Horwood Limited, 1983), p.22.

the chapter, has applicability in the colonial Durban context. There was a priority among the British element in colonial Durban society for outstanding leaders to ensure group survival in a new environment; a need for a convenient yet intensive social contact over a short period of time. The Durban local authority, controlled by an elected few, functioned as the direct agent of the central Natal Government and was expected to administer the Durban population at a local level.<sup>79</sup> In practice, the dominant, biased White Councillors in their urban administration were called upon to act in the capacity of guardians of Africans, Asian and Coloured groups, despite Indians being able effectively to claim civil and economic rights as British subjects, a topic extensively covered by Maynard Swanson in 'The Asiatic Menace'.<sup>80</sup> According to Swanson, the rulers of the seaport city of Durban, 'the premier Indian settlement in South Africa',<sup>81</sup> were in the nineteenth century often less preoccupied with the African population among them than with the Indian community. He stresses through a detailed urban history the role of the rise of the Indian community in the inception of segregation in South Africa as a whole.<sup>82</sup> By the turn of the century, the independent biased White British electorate had guaranteed themselves status and economic power legally by enacting the first major discriminatory legal sanctions affecting health and

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<sup>79</sup> The African population was first recorded in 1862 as 1 593, and swelled to 16 489 by 1910. The Asiatic population was 153 in 1862 and was counted as 16 131 in 1910. The Coloured population, earlier included with the Asiatics, came to 2 039 by 1911.

<sup>80</sup> Indians acquired substantial property, became burgesses, and were eligible for the franchise under Natal law. Some were registered voters. See Swanson, 'The Asiatic Menace', p.404.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid., pp.402-3, 413, 415-7.

liquor licenses, mainly directed against Indians.<sup>83</sup>

No further elaboration is needed of this aspect of sanctions by the dominant group to protect their self-interest, or their governance of the disenfranchised Africans by the passing of three legislative Acts as found in the Durban model of urban administration. Suffice it to say that these Acts - the Native Beer Act (No.23) of 1908, which put the sale of Native Beer under the entire control of the Town Council, in other words authorising a beer monopoly system,<sup>84</sup> together with the Togat Labour Amendment Act (No.28) of 1902 and the Native Locations Act (No.2) of 1904, which formed the basis of what came to be known as 'the Durban System' (with its assumptions of municipal paternalism in urban 'native' administration), held implications for the rest of South Africa. This aspect has been extensively covered especially by Swanson, Kuper and others in their studies revealing contributions to the roots of apartheid, towards the establishing of which system the Durban Town Council, as a representative body of

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<sup>83</sup> Ibid., pp.413-14. Swanson writes that the granting of Responsible Government on 4 July 1893 in Natal set the stage for more drastic measures along the line of racial policy against Indians. Municipal controversy then broadened out into the arena of colonial and imperial politics leading ultimately to Indian disenfranchisement, anti-immigration law, poll taxing, and the denial of trading rights. All these measures spelled a shift of emphasis from attempts at social control which characterized the 1870s and the 1880s 'to a much more determined and concentrated pursuit of communal exclusion which was to be the dominant theme of the 1890s onwards.'

<sup>84</sup> Ibid., p.402. The exercise of beer monopoly by the Durban Town Council was enacted in the Union Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923.

Durban colonial society, played no small part.<sup>85</sup> The distancing and exclusiveness or segregation of status groups can evolve in its extreme form into closed castes, says Beeghley.<sup>86</sup> As Ferdinand Toennies stresses, the significance of these 'estates' and 'classes'<sup>87</sup> based essentially on the facts of economic life, reaches over into political affairs and into the intellectual and moral sphere'. Toennies explains that classes as such 'are engaged in a contractual relationship'.<sup>88</sup>

'Classes look upon, and deal with, one another basically as opponents, who depend on one another nevertheless as a result of mutual interest. The relation between classes turns immediately into enmity, when one class is dissatisfied with the actions of the other, when one accuses the other that the contract is inadequate or that its conditions have not been observed.'<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> Maynard Swanson, 'The Rise of Multi-racial Durban: Urban History and Race Policy in South Africa 1830-1930' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Harvard, 1965), pp.418-30, 432-3, writes that 'beer money made it possible in the years after 1910 to undertake the first effective program of urban native administration that included some reference to social construction. It also by the same token made financially possible the entrenchment of a system of restriction and exclusion from all but a subordinate and passive economic association for the African with the European society to be undertaken by the municipalities of South Africa.' See also Kuper, Watts and Davies, 'A Study in Racial Ecology', p.26; Paul Maylam, 'The Evolution of Urban Apartheid Influx Control and Segregation: in Durban, c.1900-1951', in Guest and Sellers (eds.), Receded Tides of Empire, pp.262-4.

<sup>86</sup> Beeghley, Social Stratification in America, p.269, writes that this is especially true of modern society in the United States where Black and White Americans still live in an essentially caste relationship. Blacks are unequal to Whites in virtually every area. He observes pessimistically that 'it does not appear that this situation is going to change much in the future. Perhaps we have only begun to pay the consequences.'

<sup>87</sup> Ferdinand Toennies, 'Estates and Classes', in Bendix and Lipset (eds.), Class, Status and Power, pp.49-50, explains that the terms 'estate', and 'class' are synonymous and are often used interchangeably. But scientifically the two terms can be distinguished in the sense that estates are conceived as 'communal' and classes as 'societal collectives'.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid., p.50.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid.



When they engage in hostile actions or engage one another in war, these struggles become 'class-struggles.'<sup>90</sup> The realities of power in the nineteenth century (previously mentioned in the introduction), and the self-confidence of the Victorian age, combined inevitably to drive home the lesson, already implicit in language and metaphor, that 'White' meant all that was desirable, and 'Black' meant everything that was to be despised and avoided.<sup>91</sup> This was the universal conviction in these colonial cities, which translated itself into different ambitions at different levels of society. The social stratification of colonial Durban society therefore displayed 'the essence of colonialism, the imposition on another people of a system of values not their own.'<sup>92</sup> The assumption could be made therefore, that, magnified by such internal strains, this colonial society would carry within it the strong propensity of mankind to fall into mutual animosities.<sup>93</sup>

It is only with a thorough understanding of the dominant sector's values, beliefs, institutions and social organization that this society and the preserved heritage of its built environment can be properly understood. The British element of Durban's population was at the apex of the social pyramid, the levels of which corresponded to some extent with colour. Ulf Hannerz calls this type of dominant

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<sup>90</sup> Ibid.

<sup>91</sup> Mason, Patterns of Dominance, p.285.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid.

<sup>93</sup> Anthony Giddens, Politics and Sociology in the Thought of Max Weber (London: MacMillan, 1972), pp.26-7.

group the 'White tribe',<sup>94</sup> who had

'...with their mainstream culture and with their ruling of the space an impact on overall social organisation and the resultant outcome in each case was a European way of life.'<sup>95</sup>

Virtually every theorist who has studied stratification agrees that power is an important explanatory variable.<sup>96</sup> Max Weber's definition of power which, as we have seen, envisages it as the ability of an individual or group to get things done, to achieve goals, even over the opposition of others, has become standard.<sup>97</sup>

By the institutionalization of power arrangements, as is manifested in the Durban Town Council, chosen Mayors and Councillors elected through a system based on property valuation, were predictably selected from the highest stratum in the class model. They formed a political class and established social order and control by allocating duties of enforcement to an appointed and subordinate body, namely the Durban Borough Police, aided by a code of culturally determined behaviour, widely copied from Britain. It has been made possible to understand the nature of stratification by focusing on the class basis of power as it was perpetuated in this form in the

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<sup>94</sup> Ulf Hannerz, Exploring the City: Inquiries Toward an Urban Anthropology (New York, Columbia University Press, 1980), pp. 1-15, refers to Whites in Africa as the 'White tribe.'

<sup>95</sup> Ibid., p.15.

<sup>96</sup> Beeghley, The Structure of Social Stratification, pp. 6-17, covers the stratification views of theorists such as Max Weber, Kingsley Davis and Wilbert Moore, Ralf Dahrendorf, and Gerhard Lenski.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid.



colonial city of Durban.

'Every type of social order, without exception, must, if one wishes to evaluate it, be assessed according to which type of man it gives the opportunity to rise to a position of superiority through the operation of the various objectives and subjective selective factors.'<sup>98</sup>

Needless to say, the colonial monopoly of control that the minority White community has exercised over all dimensions of Durban society since 1854 is today outdated. Practices in Durban and other South African cities which were still based on a total exclusion of certain people from crucial processes of government have since become 'unacceptable in present day democratic value systems which abhor eliticism, racism and discrimination.'<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> Beetham, Max Weber, pp.109-10. The concept of 'Auslese' (selection) reappears as a central feature in nearly all Weber's writings on contemporary society. See also: Giddens, Politics and Sociology in the Thought of Max Weber, p.18.

<sup>99</sup> Fanie Cloete, 'Prospect for a democratic process of political change in South Africa', in Mark Swilling (ed.), Views on the South African State (Pretoria: HSRC, 1990), p.23.

## Chapter 3

The Settler Elite

In Chapter 1, the colonial Durban community was taken as a unit of social analysis and the inequality in its social structure was discussed; Chapter 2 focused on the perpetuation of such inequality by one legitimate form of institution - the Durban Town Council. Chapter 3 now undertakes a prosopographical study<sup>1</sup> of thirty five Mayors (nominal heads - Appendix H) as incumbents of top positions in this ruling body.

Sociological analysis does not hereby treat the colonial Durban community simply as a monolithic social unit, as a single actor. By investigating both individuals and social structures, <sup>2</sup> analysis of individual action in a social context can be furthered. These Mayors, in concert with other Councillors, carried out necessary programmes to develop the town within the constitutional framework of scheduled Council and Committee Meetings. That the social structure cannot be treated as fixed, comes to light in the following chapters. A glimpse is afforded in this chapter of how these individual Mayors (mainly entrepreneurial merchants and professional men of common British background), who formed the controlling settler elite, succeeded by their skills, intelligence, or sheer luck in

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<sup>1</sup> Lawrence Stone, The Past and the Present Revisited (London and New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987), pp.45-73. Prosopography (as the ancient historians called it), collective biography (as the modern historians know it), and multiple career-analysis (as the social scientists have it), is used as a technique of the research historian.

<sup>2</sup> This substantive direction, the analysis of individual action in a social context, is a mutation in the sociological discipline which occurred more through Paul Lazarsfeld's work than the work of any other social theorists. See Kendall (ed.), The Varied Sociology of Paul F. Lazarsfeld, pp.7-8.

making the right social connections, and so becoming influential enough to rise to these commanding positions. Supporting themselves meant consolidation of wealth founded upon privileged access to private property. This was 'one principal medium whereby the translation of economic into political power, or the reverse',<sup>3</sup> was effected, as explained in Chapter 2. Similar experiences of emigration to a strange environment and finding their feet in the daily struggle for existence, must have been decisive factors in binding these Mayors together. Other cohesive factors, such as communicating in their common English language and sharing similar social and cultural interests derived from the same English background must have been reasons for these Mayors of the same class to have acted in unison and to have had a decisive social influence in the urbanization process.

Thirty-three Mayors were British settlers. Ernest Leslie Acutt,<sup>4</sup> Walter Greenacre<sup>5</sup> and J.W. Leuchars,<sup>6</sup> who became Mayors in the 1890s, were the only three Colonial-born. Nevertheless, they were of the British settler stock of the early 1850s, which implies a homogeneous group. All, naturally, were English-speaking and spoke English at home and in Council. Such communication ensured a continuous exchange of shared and meaningful symbols among these participants in a common culture.

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<sup>3</sup> Stanworth and Giddens (eds ), Elites and Power, p.xi.

<sup>4</sup> The Natal's Who's Who: An Illustrated Biographical Sketch Book of Natalians (Durban: Robinson and Co., 1906), p.11; and Natal Almanac, Directory and Yearly Register, 1899: Commercial Directory, pp.783-90.

<sup>5</sup> Leventon, 'Walter Greenacre', in Dictionary of South African Biography, 3, p.345.

<sup>6</sup> MSCE 5565/1920: Deceased Estate of J.W. Leuchars, 1920.

Mills regards communication as

'the central underlying social process, which together with other social processes, maintains the social structure and ensures that it remains in dynamic equilibrium.'<sup>7</sup>

Certain mayors were re-elected to further terms. Significance of re-election was that it displayed a tendency among Councillors to value the leadership of some individuals in the same class situation more than others. Three Councillors (Richard Vause, William Arbuckle and Charlie Henwood) were elected four times as Mayor (nominal head) by the other Councillors; six Councillors (Benjamin Greenacre, F.C. Hollander, Edward Snell, Ellis Brown, Alexander McArthur and John Nicol), three times as Mayor; eight Councillors (George Cato, Savery Pinsent, J.R. Goodricke, William Field, William Palmer, Edward Pickering, J.J. Hillier and George Payne), were twice elected, whereas the other eighteen Mayors were elected only once.

All thirty five Mayors professed to be Christian in religion; they belonged to the various established Wesleyan (Methodist), Anglican (Church of England), Congregational (Independent), Presbyterian and Baptist Churches recorded in the local Durban newspaper. <sup>a</sup> One, Felix Hollander, a founder member of the Hebrew Congregational Church

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<sup>7</sup> Jansen, 'C.Wright Mills: Social Critic', in Joubert (ed.), Societas II, p.12. See also: Alfred G. Smith, Communication and Culture: Readings in the Codes of Human Interaction (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1966), pp.v-vi.

<sup>a</sup> Natal Mercury, 9 May 1885; 25 July 1885; and 5 November 1887.

in 1907,<sup>9</sup> was also a Freemason.<sup>10</sup> Edward Snell, whose wife Leontine Mary belonged to the Catholic Church,<sup>11</sup> did not necessarily share Catholic sympathies.

A denominational breakdown showed that nine Mayors (William Field, Richard Vause, H.W. Currie, John Goodliffe, John Millar, John Goodricke, J.J. Hillier, John Hunt and his son-in-law, J.W. Leuchars), were Anglican (Hunt was also a Freemason);<sup>12</sup> six others (Arthur Harvey, Alexander McArthur, Joseph Ellis Brown, William Arbuckle, R. Jameson and John Nicol) were Presbyterian;<sup>13</sup> seven (Savery Pinsent,<sup>14</sup> A.W. Evans, Edward Pickering, Hugh Gillespie

<sup>9</sup> Leventon, 'Felix Hollander', in Dictionary of South African Biography, vol.3, pp.409-10. Felix Hollander played a prominent part in Jewish affairs. He was President of the Durban Hebrew Congregation from 1907-1925, Honorary President of the Council of Natal Jewry from 1937-1955, and President of the Durban Jewish Club from 1941-1955.

<sup>10</sup> Twentieth Century Impressions, p.438. Hollander held the position of Provincial Grand Secretary for the Natal District Grand Lodge, had been Master on several occasions, and had received many Masonic presentations.

<sup>11</sup> Russell, Old Durban, p.159. Snell had two children.

<sup>12</sup> Durban Local History Museum, File 572133: 581 H: 'John Hunt'. Hunt was initiated on 14 June 1860 as a member of the first Freemason Lodge in Natal, the Port Natal Lodge, No.738, which held its first meeting in 1858. The significance of Freemasonry lay in the practical implication it held for members of a fraternity for mutual help and brotherly feeling. See Russell, Old Durban, pp. 160-1 on Hunt being the contractor for the first Roman Catholic brick Chapel, which opened for service in July 1853, on the land where the later Church of St. Joseph was built.

<sup>13</sup> Natal Mercury, May 1954. John Nicol paid for the cost of installing electricity in St. Andrew's Church built in 1892 in Commercial Road. It had a special door, thereafter known as 'Nicol's door' allocated to him. He alone had a key to admit himself at any time quietly into the Church.

<sup>14</sup> Daily News, 15 May 1974; Leventon, 'Savery Pinsent', in Dictionary of South African Biography, vol.5, p.592; Russell, Old Durban, p.307, wrote that Pinsent on 21 May 1857 called a Public Meeting of the Durban Auxiliary Bible Society, one of Durban's recognized institutions, of which he was a member.

and his son-in-law, Ernest Leslie Acutt, Felix Hollander and R.W. Tyzack), were Congregationalist (Independent). Tyzack was largely instrumental in the founding of the Aliwal Congregational Church in 1851,<sup>15</sup> and Evans gave a financial statement when the Congregational Church in Smith Street was opened on 8 June 1856.<sup>16</sup> Of the remaining thirteen Mayors, although nothing was found on the specific religion of five (James Stranack, R.L. Cunningham, J.D. Ballance, T.A. O'Flaherty and Edward Snell), it is assumed that they had Christian sympathies, whereas eight (G.C. Cato, William Hartley, William Palmer, Benjamin J.W. Greenacre, Walter Greenacre, W.E. Roberts, George Payne and Charlie Henwood), belonged to one of the twelve Wesleyan Methodist Churches established by 1887 in Durban. The Musgrave Road Methodist Church was especially linked to the names of Benjamin and Walter Greenacre, George Payne and his two sons, Arthur and Harold, and William Palmer. The Church itself was designed by the architect, W.E. Roberts, Mayor from 1886 to 1887, on land adjoining the Greenacre estate.<sup>17</sup> Belief in corporate community worship once a week, significantly gave rise to the construction of churches for each congregation of the Christian denominations, such as Roman Catholic, Anglican, Methodist, Presbyterian, Congregational, and Baptist Churches. The Greyville

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<sup>15</sup> Durban Local History Museum, File 572133: 581: 'R.W. Tyzack'; Don Africana Museum, P.920: Tyzack: Letter by a namesake dated 25 July 1983 to S.C. South Nedlands, Western Australia with a reply to the request for information on the Tyzack family.

<sup>16</sup> Russell, Old Durban, p.282.

<sup>17</sup> Daily News, 21 April 1993: Durban church celebrates its centenary. W.E. Robart's wife was from the distinguished Fovall family, also associated with the church. See Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1894, pp.2-5. George Payne introduced the old English custom of 'Corporation Sunday' to this Church on 11 February 1894, whereby Councillors attending these services wore official robes, and this event has become an institution in the Municipal calendar.

Methodist Church was built by 1896 to meet the needs of the residents of one of Durban's newer suburbs, Greyville. Lady Rhoda Payne placed beneath the foundation stone of this small church facing Stamford Hill Road, a bottle, containing the customary church records. Offerings were then placed on the stone estimated at £50, viz. a £20 note, £23 in gold and £7 in silver. This little church still serves the people of Greyville as a Sunday School.<sup>18</sup> These Durban churches manifested the structural and visual characteristics of the British metropolitan culture. Accepted cultural norms prevailing in British society gave rise to the rules which governed the conduct of these settlers with regard to their institutional system, and formed the core of their culture, or 'matrix of their social structure',<sup>19</sup> whether to do with church, club, library, museum, theatre, park, botanical gardens, race-course or organized sport, such as football, rugby and cricket (explained in Chapter 5).

'A belief system may be defined as having represented within it, in some organized psychological but not necessarily logical form, each and every one of a person's countless beliefs about physical and social reality.'<sup>20</sup>

Beliefs relating to the 'resurrection of the flesh' and 'immortality of the soul' account for the custom of burial of the dead.<sup>21</sup> Such community burial places, where ground is sanctified, were

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<sup>18</sup> Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1896, pp. 2-5.

<sup>19</sup> King, Colonial Urban Development, p.42.

<sup>20</sup> Milton Rokeach, Beliefs Attitudes and Values: A Theory of Organization and Change (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1968), pp.ix-xii. For Rokeach beliefs, attitudes and values are all organized together to form a functioning integrated cognitive system.

<sup>21</sup> Raymond Firth, Human Types: An Introduction to Social Anthropology (New York: New American Library, 1958), pp.145-6. See also Raymond Firth, Elements of Social Organization (London: C.A. Watts, 1951), p.28.

prominent features in the Durban environment. The West End (Commercial Road) and Stellawood Cemeteries are the only two examples discussed in Chapter 5, along with some of the various institutional structures related to economic institutions of this British sector of Durban society. Saving, marketing, property and employment activities were embodied in the buildings of banks, the offices of insurance agents and shops specialising in European goods. Day-to-day retailing and market activities were provided for mainly in the three principal streets - West, Smith and Pine Streets (which ran parallel to each other from the east to west ends of the town), and important cross-streets such as Field, Gardiner and Aliwal Streets. These centrally located streets gave access to the major institutions of the church, principal hotels, the library and economic institutions.

A dominant ideology of 'self-help', as a moral underpinning of their belief system, was brought by many British emigrants to the British colonies in the nineteenth century. It held the promise of upward mobility as a reward for hard work and sober living<sup>22</sup> in the new environment. This climbing of the social ladder was epitomized by these thirty-five Mayors. Trevelyan, the well-known English social historian, ascribes the ideology of self-help to

'...the self-discipline and self-reliance of the individual Englishman, derived indeed from many sources, but to a large extent sprung from Puritan traditions to which the Wesleyan and Evangelical movements had given another lease of life.'<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> J.F.C. Harrison, Early Victorian Britain 1832-1851 (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1971), pp.171-72

<sup>23</sup> G.M. Trevelyan, English Social History: a Survey of Six Centuries: Chaucer to Queen Victoria (London: Longmans, 1978). p.448.



Stewart, Prandy and Blackburn also stress that the idea of, (and belief in), the reality of a progression to better positions is built into individualistic belief systems and influences the strategy of the individual. Those who derive relative privilege from the operation of the market are of course those most likely to believe in its principles, as 'they accept that the concept of a market is of explanatory value in accounting for distribution.'<sup>24</sup> The hierarchical economic order which had developed in Durban in its own distinct form through the free market (as displayed in the class model in Chapter 1), was the unintended consequence of the actions of many people each seeking their own interests.<sup>25</sup>

Britain, the mother country of these first permanent British settlers, provided a model capitalist society in the nineteenth-century; the British believed in a system where people in different positions received differential rewards. Beeghley wrote<sup>26</sup> that Weber argued that the most important characteristic of rewards is that they can be used in two different ways. Firstly, they may be consumed. For example, consumption of rewards occurs as people use income to purchase homes, food and services. In this study reference has been made to only some of the most and least impressive homes of the thirty-five Mayors under discussion.

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<sup>24</sup> Stewart, Prandy and Blackburn, Social Stratification and Occupations, pp.190-1.

<sup>25</sup> Friedman, Free to Choose, p.15; pp.143-4. The nineteenth century policy of implementing equality of opportunity stands in sharp contrast to twentieth century British domestic policy dominated by 'the search for a greater equality of outcome' - equal distribution of wealth.

<sup>26</sup> Beeghley, Social Stratification in America, pp.95-6.

William Hartley's Mansion  
(1860)



Overport House, Durban, built 1860 for wealthy merchant, William Hartley, Mayor of Durban 1859 - 60, member of Legislative Council. House demolished 1938. Photo. (Copyright: Local History Museum).

All thirty-five Mayors followed the residential pattern of living in privately-owned, comfortable, detached houses. It has to be taken into account that the Durban environment was not built up to the extent that tenement housing was required. Only 700 houses were recorded in 1865.<sup>27</sup> Residential differentiation in the colonial city of Durban was still weakly developed for the most part of the nineteenth century. Most areas of the town reflected a jumble of occupations and classes. Among all races, economic occupational bonding, as displayed on a daily basis at the beginning of this colonial period, was considered more important than ethnic issues, for the survival of this tiny settlement.

Durban's residential structure however, started showing more definite differentiation towards the turn of the century. At first the settler elite preferred living centrally on Bayside sites, and later on higher ground near the ridge in the fashionable up-and-coming Berea suburb. Thirty-four Mayors in the second half of this colonial period (Gillespie died beforehand), were able to separate their residences from their business premises. There was among the White settler residents in the last quarter of the nineteenth century an increase of preference for decentralized suburban domesticity.<sup>28</sup> The houses of only two Mayors, namely William Hartley and Hugh Gillespie, were mentioned in settler literature as mansions dating from 1860s and 1870s. Hartley owned an elegant double-storeyed

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<sup>27</sup> Bjorvig 'History of the Durban Town Council, 1854-1879', pp.139-40.

<sup>28</sup> Daily News: Supplement: Property News, 6 January 1978. See Diagram 2.



## Berea Panorama

● This is how Thomas Baines saw the growing town of Durban in 1873; the Governor's flag flying at the official residence, Portsdown House which may now, after many years as an hotel, become a venue for inter-denominational services and a museum; the tug Pioneer moving past the Bluff to bring in a ship. The artist has also shown a train on its way to Umgeni.

THE MERCURY'S DURBAN 150th ANNIVERSARY SUPPLEMENT, MAY 24, 1974

house in Smith Street, subsequently known, when he became Mayor, as the 'Mansion House'<sup>29</sup> and also 'Overport House'<sup>30</sup>, built on the Berea. The latter was the scene of stylish social functions in the late 1860s and early 1870s. This was before the Natal Government acquired a Marine Residence for the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal. Hugh Gillespie's double-storeyed mansion, completed in 1865 in St. Andrew's Street (on grounds which stretched down to Durban Bay prior to the building of the present Victoria Embankment), was where the Mayor's Soiree was held in 1865. The house was bought in 1876 as a Marine Residence (Fortsdown House) for the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal.<sup>31</sup> A less spectacular house of this period was George Cato's house (of which a photograph taken in 1868, still exists) on his farm at Cato Manor. No photographic evidence has been found of his house at Cato's Creek.<sup>32</sup> A photocopy of a painting by Thomas Baines of a Berea view from H.W. Currie's house 'Invicta Cottage', built in 1854 in Currie Road (now Invicta Avenue off Currie Road), has been included on the left page.<sup>33</sup> Some Mayor's houses built in the last quarter of the nineteenth-century, such as those of George Payne, Benjamin Greenacre, John Nicol and Ellis Brown were perhaps more impressive. The Musgrave House of George Payne was not as

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<sup>29</sup> Russell, Old Durban, p.386.

<sup>30</sup> Natal Mercury, 1 August 1911, 28 November 1967; Natal Advertiser, 31 September 1911; Hattersley, An Illustrated Social History of South Africa, p.254.

<sup>31</sup> This mansion changed hands when the Marine Residence known as 'King's House' was built. The mansion then operated as Fortsdown Hotel and in later years as St. Andrew's Centre, property of the Durban United Church. Durban Local History Museum: File 581 'Hugh Gillespie'.

<sup>32</sup> Durban Local History Museum: File 540-549: Architectural General.

<sup>33</sup> Sunday Tribune: Property Supplement, 2 February 1992. This historical home was put on the market for the sum of R800 000.



spectacular as the second one, 'Overdale', which stood on ten acres of grounds and which the family occupied in 1882.<sup>34</sup> Sir Benjamin Greenacre's mansion 'Caister House' in Musgrave Road with unobstructed views over Durban was impressive.<sup>35</sup> The house of John Nicol in Currie Road on the Berea, named 'Banchory', has also been recorded.<sup>36</sup> The house of the first Ellis Brown, which stood on a prime site virtually bordering on Durban Bay, has changed hands many times and has recently been converted into the Congella Hotel.<sup>37</sup>

Rewards may also be consumed symbolically, as people engage in valued activities that reflect their positions in society. For example, the rich and well-born may send their children to exclusive preparatory schools from which others are excluded.

The second way in which rewards can be used, and one more important for this chapter, is that rewards can be employed as resources in order to obtain even greater rewards in the future. For example, if sufficiently large, income can be used to purchase property, which can produce even greater returns in the future. In other words, the ability to obtain rewards and use them as a resource provides many

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<sup>34</sup> The house was sold in 1924. Durban Local History Museum: File 572133: 581 P 'George Payne': A Booklet by Douglas Cook The Paynes of 'Overdale', pp.11-13. Two of George Payne's sons in later years also became Councillors. Two spectacular homes, named 'Trevivian' in Essenwood Road, Durban and 'Shinglewood' at Gillitts, were owned by one of the sons, Arthur Payne.

<sup>35</sup> Natal Who's Who, 1906, p.79; Leventon 'Benjamin Greenacre', in Dictionary of South African Biography, 3, pp.244-5.

<sup>36</sup> Natal Who's Who, p.117.

<sup>37</sup> Durban Local History Museum: File 572133: 581 B 'Ellis Brown'; Leventon 'Ellis Brown', in Dictionary of South African Biography, 3, pp.112-13.

people with an interest in and the capacity to maintain the 'status quo' in the society.<sup>38</sup>

Thirty-four Mayors invested their income in property, whether in freehold or in leasehold. In this way they consolidated their wealth. Regrettably, very little information could be found on Mayor T.A. O'Flaherty's property holdings, except that he was a shareholder in his wife's brickmaking business, as discussed further on in the text.

The thirty-five Mayors chosen in this small group study illustrated the reality of a progression to better positions in the economic order. Their move from large British settlements to the small town of Durban, where opportunities were there for the taking, possibly contributed to their being successful. In many cases 'migrants to large cities from rural areas tend to be less successful'.<sup>39</sup>

Thirty-two Mayors, of the first generation, immediately started climbing the ladder of success. Three second generation Mayors, E.L. Acutt, W. Greenacre and J.W. Leuchars stepped into their fathers' established trading concerns. Thirty-two Mayors (the three colonial-born excluded), did not inherit their wealth, but whether through hard work, successful partnerships, skills, or luck, became rich and influential.

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<sup>38</sup> Beeghley, The Structure of Social Stratification in the United States, p.61.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

All thirty-five individuals were to increase their social standing in colonial Durban society by becoming political leaders (Mayors). They were to form a controlling settler elite (as explained in the status model in Chapter 1 and the political model in Chapter 2). These few, poised on the peak of the social pyramid, the gentry, possessed prestige and privilege, and stood in contrast to the many, the great majority, who performed manual and routine work of every sort and who commanded scant rewards and little prestige. The tendency for social groups or collectivities to rank positions of leadership and social responsibility at the top, and positions requiring long training just below, has relevance for colonial Durban society.<sup>40</sup>

Occupational skills best represented among the elected few included largely financial, but also legal competence, which can be regarded as basic to the demands of urban self-government.

The practice of social conventions and traditions of various kinds expressed and protected the lifestyles of the settler elite; a network of dependable relationships<sup>41</sup> evolved within their status circle. In the predominantly British settler community it was almost inevitable that favourable marriages and social alliances would be generally confined to members of other British emigrant families.

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<sup>40</sup>     Lipset and Bendix, Social Mobility in Industrial Society, pp.1-2; Beeghley, Social Stratification in America, pp.120, 231.

<sup>41</sup>     Seymour Sarason, The Psychological Sense of Community: Prospects for a Community Psychology, pp.vii-x. See also Michael E. Roloff, Interpersonal Communication: The Social Exchange Approach (Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publications, 1981), pp. 9-12; Alfred G. Smith, Communication and Culture: Readings in the Codes of Human Interaction (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966), pp.v-vi; Rokeach, Beliefs Attitudes and Values, pp.ix-xiii.



Marriage patterns were as follows: thirty-four Mayors married 'in' to their own British group (whether before or after emigrating). The exception was Savery Pinsent, who did not marry at all.

Thirty-two Mayors had families of two or more children. Alexander McArthur, married to Jane Tweed (Speirs), topped the list with thirteen children, <sup>42</sup> followed closely by George Payne<sup>43</sup> and John Millar <sup>44</sup> with ten children each and H.W. Currie with nine.<sup>45</sup> The only three exceptions to this group of prolific fathers were Felix Hollander with only one daughter,<sup>46</sup> William Field with one son who died in infancy,<sup>47</sup> and Savery Pinsent who did not marry at all. The number of progeny in the second generation meant that businesses in some cases expanded and that more wealth was accumulated. The firm 'Greenacre & Co.' of Benjamin Greenacre, for example, closed only at the end of May 1982.<sup>48</sup> Whether consolidated wealth in movable or immovable properties stayed within the family circle would necessitate a separate study and such an investigation has not been attempted in this chapter.

Thirty-three Mayors married in their twenties and thirties. Only

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<sup>42</sup> Natal Mercury, 10 March 1894: Obituary.

<sup>43</sup> Leventon, 'George Payne', in Dictionary of South African Biography, 3, pp.677-8.

<sup>44</sup> MSCE 4102/1894: Deceased Estate of John Millar, 1894.

<sup>45</sup> Shelagh O'Byrne Spencer, British Settlers in Natal 1824-1857: A Biographical Register (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press), vol.5, pp.50-2.

<sup>46</sup> MSCE 3017/1955: Deceased Estate of Felix Hollander, 1955. Only one daughter is mentioned.

<sup>47</sup> Spencer, British Settlers, vol. 6, p.126.

<sup>48</sup> Daily News, 30 July 1984.

Ernest Leslie Acutt married later in life, at forty-four when he took to wife Hugh Gillespie's daughter, Madeleine Churchill.<sup>49</sup> Ernest had a partnership share in the family business of his father, Robert Noble Acutt and Sons at 55 Gardiner Street.

A strong family tie had already been formed between the Gillespie and Churchill families, when Gillespie himself married Marianne Julia Churchill in 1858; while his sister, Emma, married Joseph Churchill in 1857.<sup>50</sup> Certain marriages also helped in property acquisition: Hugh Gillespie and Churchill held joint ownership of property at Umgeni in the Victoria County with a freehold value of £4 420 18s during 1877.<sup>51</sup> As a successful merchant, shipping goods from England, Gillespie at the time of his marriage invested money in a large plot of land in St. Andrew's Street where he built his family mansion in 1863. Gillespie, as a leading social organizer promoting togetherness within the social circle, arranged for the first Mayor's Soiree to be held in his impressive house during 1865, as mentioned before. Over a hundred guests were invited.<sup>52</sup>

John Hunt, who married Emma Leuchars in 1854, and his sister, Elizabeth, who married Henry James Leuchars (father of J.W.

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<sup>49</sup> Natal Advertiser: Supplement, 10 September 1909. The total rateable value of the business was £8 520 by 1909. See also: MSCE 12304/1927: Deceased Estate of E.L. Acutt, 1927. His partnership share in R. Acutt & Sons lasted till his death in 1927.

<sup>50</sup> Spencer. British Settlers, vol.4, pp.99-100.

<sup>51</sup> NGG: Supplement, vol.XXXIII, no.1872, 8 March 1881: Valuation Roll of Victoria County 1877, pp.67-114. Natal was divided into 6 Counties (Pietermaritzburg, Durban, Victoria, Umvoti, Weenen, Klip River) and 2 Divisions (Inanda and Tugela) in 1854. See *ibid.*, vol.VI, no.284, 23 May 1854, p.284: County Divisions.

<sup>52</sup> Durban Local History Museum: File 572133: 581 G 'Hugh Gillespie'.

Leuchars), followed a similar pattern. One of John Hunt's two daughters, Jessie, married Andrew Hepburn <sup>53</sup> and a strong business alliance in timber was forged by the Hunt, Leuchars and Hepburn families.

Capital accumulation resulted from this family tie. Consolidated wealth in total rateable property (land and buildings) of the Hunt, Leuchars and Hepburn Co. in Smith and West Streets alone was valued at £12 120 during 1896. <sup>54</sup> Being in the right business at the right time, and joining hands, enabled more property to be added in Timber Street to the Smith Street properties they also owned. Total rateable property value was recorded at £47 570 by 1909. <sup>55</sup> Leuchars' son, J.W. Leuchars (married to Emily, born Searle), <sup>56</sup> and Andrew Hepburn in 1909 also together held a separate company in Smith Street with total rateable property valued at £5 400 and property in Fisher Street valued at £450. <sup>57</sup> Furthermore, Leuchars and Hepburn at this stage also formed a business alliance with the well-established family of C.G. Smith, and the new company's total rateable property in Smith Street was valued at £10 100 in 1909. <sup>58</sup> In his will (1920), with a total amount left in the estate of

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<sup>53</sup> MSCE 98/1874, volume 3/13: Deceased Estate of John Hunt, 1874; Don Africana Museum, P 920: W. Percy Williams: Biography 'John Hunt', pp.1-4.

<sup>54</sup> Natal Advertiser: Supplement, 8 October 1896: Valuation Roll, 1896.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.: Supplement, 10 September 1909: Valuation Roll, 1909.

<sup>56</sup> MSCE 5565/1920: Deceased Estate of J.W. Leuchars, 1920.

<sup>57</sup> Natal Advertiser: Supplement, 10 September 1909: Valuation Roll, 1909.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

£216 078 12s. 4d., Leuchars appointed family associates such as Andrew Hepburn, Wilfrid Leuchars, George Leuchars and B.J. Browne as Executors.<sup>59</sup>

A.W. Evans (married to Mary Wall, born Fletcher) together with the John Millar family (married to Ellen, born Ayres), formed another mutually supportive alliance and they jointly leased property from the Durban Town Council in Block Z (Part of 11) situated in Ward 4 in 1856.<sup>60</sup> Evans and the Richard Vause family leased property together in Block Z (Erf No. 11 and 12) from the Durban Town Council in 1862.<sup>61</sup> Evans and Churchill leased land from the Town Council in Block G (Part of 1) in Ward 3 and, together, as a company, land in Block D (Part of 2) valued at £850 in 1868 - all located in the prime central town area of Durban.<sup>62</sup> As early as July 1854 the latter grouping advertised that they had opened a branch of their trading store in Pietermaritzburg.<sup>63</sup> The partnership was discontinued in the 1860s and Evans was soon trading under his own company name as 'Evans & Co.' in Durban, with his two sons (Rupert Winter and Augustus Fletcher) and Frederick Giesen.<sup>64</sup> His ownership of Erf 5 Block B and Remainder of Erf 4 Block B was sold to the Natal Government after his death in December 1874 (transfer date 1 April 1876).

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<sup>59</sup> MSCE 5565/1920: Deceased Estate of J.W. Leuchars, 1920. He died at the Durban Club and was survived by his 2 children.

<sup>60</sup> Natal Mercury: Supplement, 25 November 1856: Valuation list for Durban Borough, 1856.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., 27 December 1862.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., 13 February 1868.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., 19 July 1854.

<sup>64</sup> Spencer, British Settlers, vol.6, pp.50-5: The Natal Mercury: Supplement, 17 November and 17 December 1880.

Evans also owned property at various times in Durban, Victoria, Pietermaritzburg, Klip River and Alexander Counties. He was survived by his wife and three children. Evans Road in Durban takes its name from the Evans family.<sup>65</sup> Many other business connections were in existence within this elite stratum. John Millar, at first trading in liquor under his own company name (as recorded in the local newspaper in 1854),<sup>66</sup> had joined hands with Gillespie by 1857 and formed a similar company. Their advertisements often appeared in the Durban local newspaper during 1857.<sup>67</sup> The second social ball in Durban's history was held in June 1853 on Millar's premises which were decorated to create the illusion of a 'noble drawing-room in some stately hall of England'.<sup>68</sup> The names of Gillespie, Goodricke, McArthur, Snell and their wives were recorded among many other dignitaries.<sup>69</sup> By 1880 John Millar was again trading under his own company name as a Wine and Spirit Merchant.<sup>70</sup> In his will, Millar, who died in 1894, left everything to his wife.<sup>71</sup> At this crucial stage of Durban's early history, these respected leaders performed a necessary function in Durban society by holding the social structure together.

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<sup>65</sup> Spencer, British Settlers, vol.6, p. 53.

<sup>66</sup> Natal Mercury, 3 May 1854; Russell, Old Durban, pp.284-5. The company also acted as agents of the 'Imperial Fire Insurance Company.'

<sup>67</sup> Natal Mercury, 28 May and 30 June 1857. The alliance presumably terminated soon afterwards as Gillespie advertised alcohol for sale under his own name. See Natal Mercury, 27 August, 3 September, 1 October, 22 October and 10 December 1857.

<sup>68</sup> Russell, Old Durban, pp.167-9. The first social ball was given at his residence by H.J. Meillon, the Resident Magistrate, initiating the first of a series of social functions.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid.

<sup>70</sup> Natal Mercury, 6 March 1880.

<sup>71</sup> MSCE 4102/1894: Deceased Estate of John Millar, 1894

The social network among prominent British families was further strengthened when thirty-nine traders got together and established in 1856 the Natal Chamber of Commerce which was to concern itself with their economic welfare. The latter became incorporated under Natal Law 31 of 1884 and changed its name to the present one of Durban Chamber of Commerce.<sup>72</sup> J. Millar was one of the Directors, together with J. Sanderson, Richard Harwin and William Smerdon. A.W. Evans became Chairman (a position he held till 1859 and again in 1874), E.P. Lamport was Vice-Chairman, G.H. Wirsing, Treasurer, and Richard Vause Honorary Secretary (and Chairman between 1864-1866).<sup>73</sup> William Arbuckle junior was recorded as one of the Directors in the Natal Almanac, Directory and Yearly Register of 1880.<sup>74</sup> J.W. Leuchars became Vice-Chairman and Treasurer during 1890.<sup>75</sup> This leading financial institution, which often elected Councillors from these families as Committee members, consequently 'became a strong factor in determining colonial legislation'.<sup>76</sup> Altogether four Mayors (A.W. Evans, B.W. Greenacre, J.W. Stranack and George Payne), were elected as Chairmen of the Durban Chamber of Commerce during this colonial period.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> Daily News: Supplement: '100 Years of The Daily News 1878-1978', 5 January 1978.

<sup>73</sup> Russell, Old Durban, pp.284-5. See Natal Almanac, Directory and Yearly Register, 1865: Commercial Directory, p.60.

<sup>74</sup> Natal Almanac, Directory and Yearly Register, 1880, p.246.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., 1890, p.482.

<sup>76</sup> Russell, Old Durban, pp.284-5.

<sup>77</sup> John McIntyre, 'From Settlement to City: a Story of Civic Progress and Development', in Allister MacMillan (ed.), Durban Past and Present (Durban: William Brown and Davis, 1936), pp. 163-4, gives a recorded list of Chairmen.

J.D. Ballance and Letchford were two other businessmen trading in liquor who advertised together in the local newspaper during 1880.<sup>78</sup> The John Goodliffe and J.D. Ballance partnership<sup>79</sup> (the latter presumably a relation to H.C. Ballance), 'advanced their own self-interest'<sup>80</sup> by holding together total rateable property valued at £4 220 in Block G (Lot 7) and Block T (Lot 1) by 1877. J.D. Ballance himself owned property in Block B (Lot Q) which was valued at £2 362 10s.<sup>81</sup> Jointly, Ballance and Goodliffe also headed Marine Assurance Agencies in Cape Town and Grahamstown.<sup>82</sup> However, the immovable property owned by J.D. Ballance for business and that in Springfield Road, including his house 'Rosella', passed from his possession when he died a widower and penniless in 1910. He was by then practically dependent on relations (two daughters and two sons from his marriage to Rosa in England).<sup>83</sup>

Edward Snell, apart from leasing land from the Durban Town Council in Block D (Part of 3 and 4 and 20 and 21) in Ward 3 and Block E (Part of 1, 18, and 20), and Block F (Part of 4) in Ward 4, formed a business alliance with Alexander McArthur in 1855. Together they

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<sup>78</sup> Natal Mercury, 18 February 1880.

<sup>79</sup> NGG, vol.XXIX, no. 1291, 13 June 1871, p.161: Partnership.

<sup>80</sup> Roleff, Interpersonal Communication: The Social Exchange Approach, pp.9-12.

<sup>81</sup> NGG: Supplement, vol.XXXIII, no.1872, 8 March 1881: Valuation Roll of Durban Borough, 1877, pp.162-84.

<sup>82</sup> Natal Almanac, Directory and Yearly Register, 1880: Commercial Directory, p.244.

<sup>83</sup> MSCE 38/247: Deceased Estate of John Descarrieres Ballance, 1910. Inclusive: Letter dated 19 August, 1910: Solicitor's Clenman's and Mayston to the Master of Supreme Court, Pietermaritzburg.

leased land in Block E (Part of 20) in Ward 4.<sup>84</sup> By 1877 most of Snell's property holdings in freehold were concentrated in Ward 3 (Block D) and Ward 4 (Block E) and to a lesser extent in Ward 1 (Block H and K), with a total rateable value of £6 990 18s. 10d.<sup>85</sup> In Ward 3 and 4 Snell built up a successful liquor business which he disposed of to his nephew, Ivan Edward Snell by 1880, prior to his returning to London. The nephew married 'in', to Louisa Constance Acutt, daughter of Ernest Leslie Acutt.<sup>86</sup> The business still thrives to this day.

In 1871, William Field, married to Martha (born Anderson), kept the business in the family when he took his nephew, A.P. Field, into the merchant business he had set up in West Street during 1863.<sup>87</sup> By 1877 William Field had also formed a business alliance with the prominent Randles family; together they owned property valued at £1 440 in Block F (Lot 14).<sup>88</sup> William Field and Edward Snell were two of the original subscribers of Capital Stock, which preceded the formation of the Natal Bank in 1854.<sup>89</sup>

<sup>84</sup> Natal Mercury: Supplement, 25 November 1856 and 27 December 1862. Alexander McArthur was also Manager of the Natal Railway Company. See NGG, vol.XX, no.1099, 28 January 1868, p.23: Notice of Half Yearly Meeting of Natal Railway Company.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid.: Supplement, vol.XXXIII, no.1872, 8 March 1881: Valuation Roll of Durban Borough, 1877, pp. 162-84.

<sup>86</sup> Twentieth Century Impressions of Natal, pp.514-15; MSCE 15356/1929: Deceased Estate of E. Snell (junior), 1929.

<sup>87</sup> Spencer, British Settlers, vol.6, pp.124-6.

<sup>88</sup> NGG: Supplement, vol.XXXIII, no.1872, 8 March 1881: Valuation Roll of Durban Borough, 1877, pp.162-84; Spencer, British Settlers, vol.6, pp.124-6, mentions that Field seems to have left Natal round about this time.

<sup>89</sup> NGG: Supplement, vol.VI, no.5, 24 October 1854, p.305: For Incorporating the Natal Bank.





A photograph taken in the late 1860 of The Mercury's third home which was in West Street at the corner of Mercury Lane. Adam's bookshop, founded in 1865 by Francis Adams, occupied the front ground floor. Photo. (Copyright: Local History

Richard Vause (married to Mathilda Park), emigrated to Natal in 1852, and built up a social contact with the well-known Robinson family. He became manager of a store in 1857. During the next few years he was appointed secretary of the Natal Fire Insurance and Trust Company and auditor of the Commercial and Agricultural Bank. In 1865 he was director of the Natal Railway Company, Chairman of the Marine Insurance and Trust Company of Natal, as well as a member of the Natal Committee of the Natal Land and Colonization Company<sup>90</sup>, business experience which stood him in good stead when he went into partnership with John Robinson, son of George Robinson (one of the founders of the Natal Mercury), and bought the newspaper. The partnership with John Robinson was announced in the Natal Mercury, 6 September 1860. Terry Wilks in For the Love of Natal,<sup>91</sup> emphasized that this business combination between the two families proved highly successful. The Natal Mercury was hereby placed among the top South African newspapers 'and one of the most influential colonial journals in the British Empire.'<sup>92</sup> This successful partnership, which lasted twenty-six years, was continued after Richard Vause's death by one of his four sons. It was dissolved in 1901 on William John Vause's retirement, when the holding of the newspaper was reconstituted into a company.<sup>93</sup>

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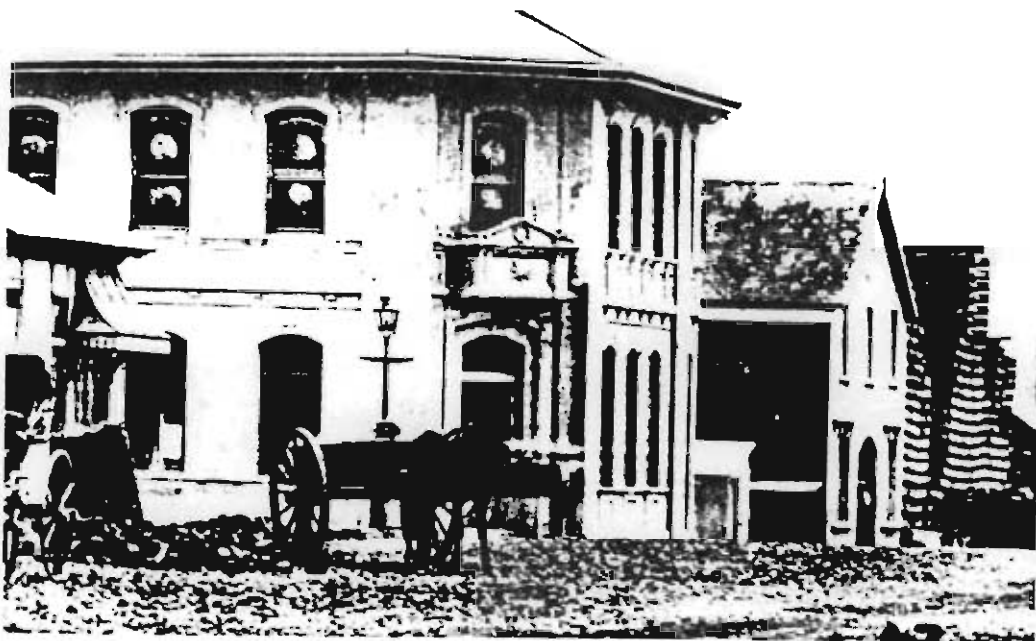
<sup>90</sup> Natal Almanac. Directory and Yearly Register. 1865: Commercial Directory, pp.59-60; S.T.W. Hayes, 'Richard Vause', in Dictionary of South African Biography, 4, p.722; Don Africana Museum. P.920: Richard Vause. In Memoriam at his funeral reprinted from the Natal Mercury, 30 August 1886. Vause was survived by his six children. He was also one of Directors of the Natal Bank when it opened in 1854. See NGB: Supplement, vol.VI, no.281, 2 May 1854. p.281: Natal Bank.

<sup>91</sup> Terry Wilks, For the Love of Natal: The Life and Times of The Natal Mercury 1852-1977 (Pinetown: Robinson & Hewitt, 1977), pp.36-70, 43.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid., pp.36-7, 44, 47, 49-50, 69.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid., p.69.

Durban's first bank  
( 1854 )



Natal Bank at the corner of Gardiner and West Street.  
Photo (Copyright: Local History Museum).

Together Robinson and Vause also owned land in Block G (Lot 11) and Block Z on the Berea to the total rateable value of £900 recorded during 1877.<sup>94</sup>

Other individual family fortunes were amassed when the Cato brothers, George Christopher Cato (married to Elizabeth Griffin) and Joseph Cato, leased land together in Block N (Erf Nos. 1 and 2) in Ward 1 in 1855. This was apart from George Cato's owning and leasing from the Durban Town Council in the same year of prime holding sites in Block M (Erf No 1 and 2) more or less opposite the present City Hall, as well as property in Block L (Erf 1, 1 and 8) and Block K (Erf 1, 2, 4, 14, 15 and 16) and in the Point area.<sup>95</sup> By 1868 Cato's freehold properties in Block M, N and L in Durban's central business district were valued at £4 440. Erf 1 in Block L alone was valued at £1 360 in 1868, which land Cato leased to the Natal Bank,<sup>96</sup> Durban's first leading banking institution. He himself became the bank's first manager. (William Hartley's lesser freehold share in Erf 2, was also partly occupied by the bank and worth £255.)<sup>97</sup> Perhaps Cato's

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<sup>94</sup> NGG: Supplement, vol.XXXIII, no.1872, 8 March 1881: Valuation Roll of the Durban Borough, 1877, pp.162-84.

<sup>95</sup> Natal Mercury, 24 January 1855: Valuation List. See Russell, Old Durban, pp.16-17, 61 and 86.

<sup>96</sup> NGG: Supplement, vol.VI, no. 281, 2 May 1854, p.281: Natal Bank. The Natal Bank was established 10 April 1854 with P. Ferreira and G.C. Cato as Trustees. G.C. Cato and J.F. Kants were also the first Agents in Durban for the Natal Fire Assurance and Trust Co. established 11 April 1849. See *ibid.*, no.285, 30 May 1854, p.285: Natal Fire Assurance and Trust Company. G.C. Cato was also Manager of this company.

<sup>97</sup> Natal Mercury, 13 February 1868: Valuation List. George Cato had about £1 400 worth of Natal Bank shares at his death in 1893. See MSCE 8/188: Deceased Estate of George Cato, 1894. Cato was also Manager of the Colonial Bank of Natal. See NGG, vol.XX, no. 2011, 3 March 1868, p.59.

biggest asset was his Cato Manor Estate in Durban County, valued at £24 248 12s. 8d. by 1887<sup>98</sup> and at £30 000 by 1894.<sup>99</sup> His Smith Street erf was valued at about £3 950, his Linwood Villa at £2 500, and the farm 'Honing Krantz' adjoining 'Uitkomst' and 'Doorn Rug' at Cato Ridge, worth about £4 500. Cato passed away in 1893 and was survived by his three children.<sup>100</sup>

William Hartley, who married Isabella Friscilla Hughes at Leeds in 1849<sup>101</sup>, formed a business alliance with Thomas Handley, who owned a retail business in the grocery line in Durban and Pietermaritzburg in the 1850s. Profiting from black pepper which had been saved from the cargo of the wrecked 'Aristo' (1854), Hartley next started up as a soft goods merchant and later opened, as proprietor, the Durban Bank in 1862.<sup>102</sup> Hartley invested in property in Victoria and Durban County and in the Durban Borough. The total rateable value on his properties by 1877 was recorded to have been £17 547 17s. 6d.<sup>103</sup> His 'Overport Estate'<sup>104</sup> was highly rated as a reflection of his wealth.

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<sup>98</sup> Ibid.: Supplement, vol.XXXIII, no.1872, 8 March 1881: Valuation Roll of Durban County, 1877, pp.162-84.

<sup>99</sup> MSCE 8/188: Deceased Estate of George Cato, 1894.

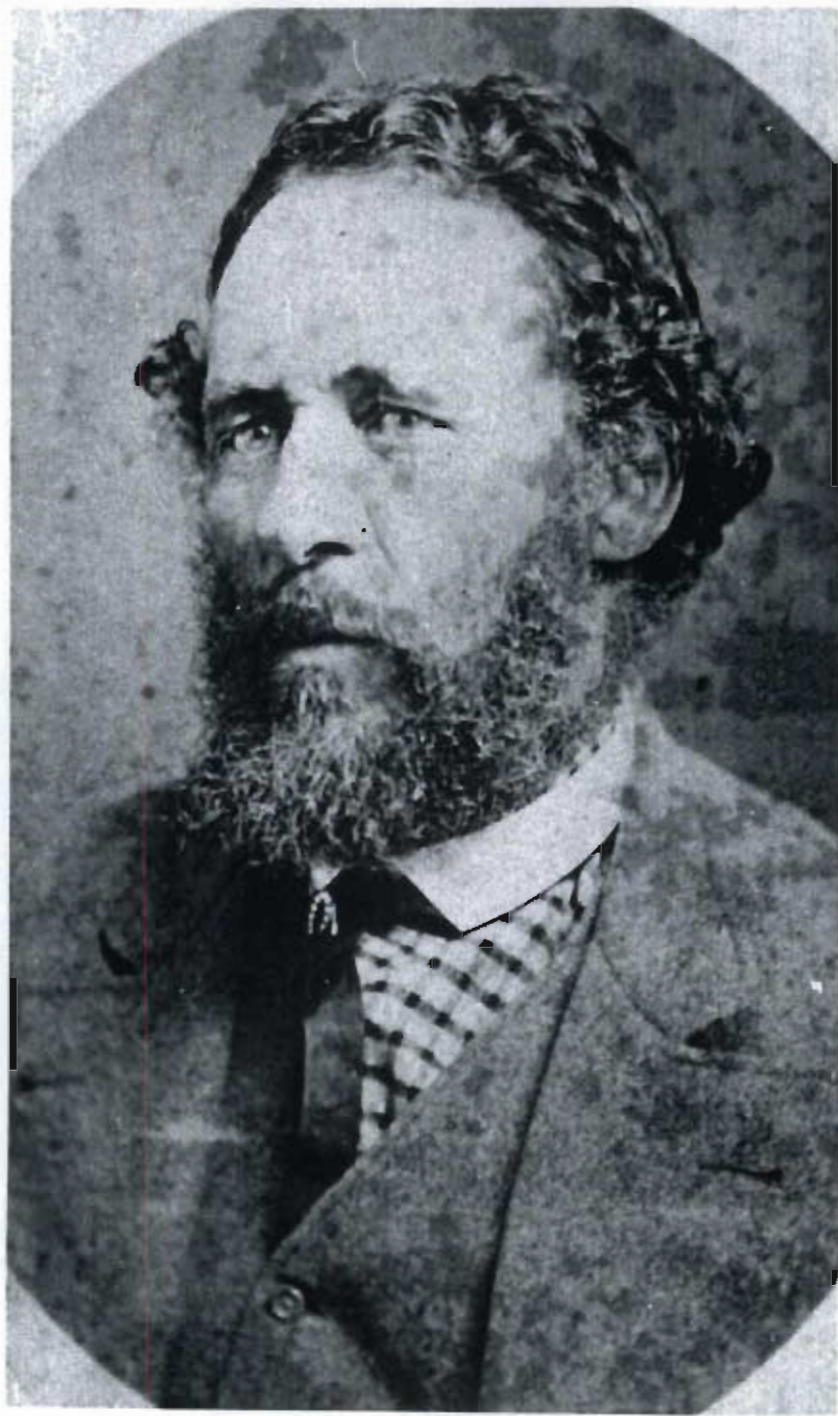
<sup>100</sup> Ibid.: Spencer, British Settlers, vol. 4, pp.55-9.

<sup>101</sup> MSCE 2/246: Deceased Estate of William Hartley, 1911; Leverton, 'William Hartley', in Dictionary of South African Biography, 3, p.379.

<sup>102</sup> NGG, vol.XXXII, no.486, 18 November 1862, p.486: Durban Bank.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid.: Supplement, vol.XXXIII, no.1872, 8 March 1881: Valuation Roll of Victoria County, 1877, pp.87-114; Durban County, 1877, pp.120-32; Durban Borough, 1877, pp.162-84.

<sup>104</sup> Leverton, 'William Hartley', in Dictionary of South African Biography, 3, p.378. For a detailed description of the house, see John Robinson (ed.), Notes on Natal: An Old Colonists' Book for New Settlers (Durban: Robinson & Co., 1872), pp.128-9.



No social history of colonial Durban is complete without mentioning the wealthiest of all the Mayors, namely Benjamin Greenacre and his family. Benjamin Greenacre married the daughter of the Reverend Ralph Stott, a Wesleyan minister, and with his wife and children was associated with practically all Durban's institutions worthy of support. Greenacre emerged as another great leader in the social organization of the community. His own life story provided a practical demonstration of an individual who believed in self-improvement. Greenacre began work as an errand boy for Richard Harwin after he came to Natal in 1856. He started climbing the ladder of success when he, in conjunction with T. Harvey of the same firm, acquired the business in 1860. Harvey and Greenacre then began trading as Harvey, Greenacre and Company. From these small beginnings the business prospered until by the end of the nineteenth century it was Natal's leading commercial house with branches in other parts of South Africa, all of which earned Greenacre the nickname of 'Retail Prince'.<sup>105</sup> Head offices were established in Durban at 329 and 423 West Street and 401 and 403 Smith Street, with branches in places such as Johannesburg, Krugersdorp, Dundee, Newcastle, Ladysmith, Vryheid and Kokstad.<sup>106</sup> Other prime sites acquired by Greenacre were 350 and 356 West Street and 261 and 257 Musgrave Road, apart from smaller sites in Currie, Venice and Lambert Roads on the Berea. Greenacre's wealth in total rateable property value during 1909 was estimated at £79 440.<sup>107</sup> The value of total immovable property in the Greenacre Estate was £141 520 by

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<sup>105</sup> Russell, Old Durban, p.267; The Natal Who's Who, p.79; Leventon, 'Benjamin Greenacre', in Dictionary of South African Biography, vol.3. pp.344-5.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid.

<sup>107</sup> Natal Advertiser: Supplement, 10 September 1909 and 8 October 1896.



1911.<sup>108</sup> Walter Greenacre and his two brothers (Edwin and Arthur) acted as Trustees to the Estate. Benjamin Greenacre's wife and all five children derived a handsome annual income from the Trust Estate, whereas a helping hand was also extended to charitable organizations in the form of contributions.<sup>109</sup> Walter Greenacre moved into the family residence, Caister House in Musgrave Road, after his mother's death. His daughter, Agnes Madge, inherited the house and twenty acres of land in Kloof when he died in 1932. Each of Walter's four children also received 30 000 shares in Harvey, Greenacre and Company. The rest of the shares went to charitable institutions as ordered by his father's will.<sup>110</sup> Walter's wife, Catherine Agnes, daughter of Archibald Campbell, who had a business alliance with the merchant firm of Parker, Wood and Company, also left Walter a sum of £17 072 18s. 11d. in her estate in 1926.<sup>111</sup>

George Payne, who worked for Benjamin Greenacre for a number of years, also exhibited determination to succeed in business; he and his brother John together opened Messrs Payne Brothers, a clothing and outfitting establishment, early in 1870 in West Street.<sup>112</sup> They

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<sup>108</sup> MSCE 41/207: Deceased Estate of B.J. Greenacre, 1911. The total amount of his worth in immovable and movable property, plus cash found in the estate came to £438 688. Greenacre owned immovable property not only in central Durban and the Berea suburb, but also, at the time of his death in 1911, in central Pietermaritzburg, Ladysmith, Dundee, Vryheid, Richmond, Newcastle, Umvoti and Mount Moreland.

<sup>109</sup> MSCE 41/207: Deceased Estate of B.J. Greenacre, 1911.

<sup>110</sup> MSCE 18854/1932: Deceased Estate of Walter Greenacre, 1932.

<sup>111</sup> MSCE 11725/1926: Deceased Estate of Catherine Agnes Greenacre, 1926.

<sup>112</sup> Leventon, 'George Payne', in Dictionary of South African Biography, 3, pp.677-8; The Natal Who's Who, p.79; Russell, Old Durban, p.267; Hattersley, The British Settlement of Natal, p.338.



expanded the business to other centres such as Harrismith and Pretoria, and later to Johannesburg. The brothers also opened an office in London in 1877 and personally selected their goods in England. This marketing arrangement meant that George Payne virtually took control of the South African business, especially in Durban, while John Payne devoted his time and energy to the London office. By 1895 the two brothers decided by mutual consent to go their separate ways. George Payne then became the sole owner of Payne Brothers. His two eldest sons, Harold and Arthur, who had joined their father's business by 1890, were both actively associated with the firm for over fifty years. This father and sons team managed the business together until 1910 when George Payne passed away. The firm was converted in 1911 to a shareholding company with the two sons being appointed as life directors. Payne's will appointed his wife, Rhoda Mary Ann, born Cowey (also from a prominent British settler family after which Cowey Road in Durban is named), as Trustee and Guardian. The amount of £159 894 19s. 1d. was left in his estate. The property on which the business stood was leased to his sons at a rental equal to 5% of the value of the property in question as fixed in the current Valuation Roll of the Durban Borough.<sup>113</sup>

Another brothers' alliance was that of Felix Hollander, who together with his brother formed the firm Hollander Brothers, jewellers and import merchants of jewellery. They owned Hollanders' Building in Field Street, which had a total rateable value of £9 100 by

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<sup>113</sup> MSCE 40/50: Deceased Estate of George Payne, 1910; Leverton, 'George Payne', in Dictionary of South African Biography, 3, pp.677-8; Natal Mercury, 10 April 1899; Daily News, 14 and 15 March 1940. George Payne was also Chairman of the Durban Chamber of Commerce in 1890, and at intervals between 1899-1900.

1909.<sup>114</sup> Hollander came from Birmingham and was the grandson of a noted English rabbi.<sup>115</sup> Hollander thus had a dual background. He married a gentile, Ethel May Watson, daughter of James Watson, who belonged to one of Natal's older colonist families<sup>116</sup>, a family connection which might have been useful in his election as Councillor.

Thomas Augustus O'Flaherty from Ireland was married 'in', to Elizabeth Ellington Beningfield, in 1877. Her father, Samuel Beningfield, was one of Durban's leading auctioneers, a law agent and horticulturist, as well as a founder member of the Durban Race Club. He must have imparted some of his business acumen to his daughter, who owned a brickmaking business at Umbilo by 1891. The marriage made it possible for O'Flaherty to become a shareholder.<sup>117</sup> T. O'Flaherty was recorded in the Natal Almanac, Directory and Yearly Register 1885 as Bank Manager of the Natal Bank in Durban.<sup>118</sup> O'Flaherty's election to the Durban Town Council as Councillor and as Mayor in 1887<sup>119</sup> was presumably influenced not only by his occupation, but also by his father-in-law's social standing and

<sup>114</sup> Natal Advertiser: Supplement, 10 September 1909; Twentieth Century Impressions, p.438; Leverton, 'Felix Hollander', in Dictionary of South African Biography, pp.409-10.

<sup>115</sup> Arnold Miller, The Jewish Community in Natal (Cape Town: Cape and Transvaal Printers, 1981), pp.28-9; Gustav Saron and Louis Hotz, The Jews in South Africa (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1955), pp.268, 340, 346 and 349.

<sup>116</sup> MSCE 2698/1967: Deceased Estate of Ethel May, born Watson, 1967: The Natal Who's Who, p.47.

<sup>117</sup> Spencer, British Settlers, vol.2, p.68.

<sup>118</sup> Natal Almanac, Directory and Yearly Register, 1885, p.337: Durban Institutions.

<sup>119</sup> Natal Mercury, 8 August 1887.

membership of the Council between 1860 and 1863.<sup>120</sup>

John Nicol came to Durban in 1861. A carpenter by trade, he followed his calling for seven years in Durban before he launched out on his own account, first as a builder, and then as a timber merchant.<sup>121</sup> Nicol, in partnership with his son in the firm Nicol and Nicol, owned business property in Smith Street rated at £16 460 and at 94 Commercial Road, valued at £20 500 by 1909, thus consolidating their wealth. In addition to these, they also owned properties of less value in Leopold, Victoria, Albert and Queen Streets, as well as residential properties in Musgrave, Mansfield and Currie Roads.<sup>122</sup> The amount left in Nicol's Estate at his death in 1920 was £97 050 2s 6d.<sup>123</sup>

Robert Jameson found employment with the firm of William Palmer and Blackwood to gain a foothold in his new environment when he landed in Durban in 1856. Later he formed Jameson and Company and established himself as a jam manufacturer, advertising stock in the local newspaper.<sup>124</sup> His firm in Union Street had a total rateable value of £890 by 1896.<sup>125</sup> Jameson married Catherine Walton in Durban.

<sup>120</sup> Spencer, British Settlers, vol.2, p.68.

<sup>121</sup> Twentieth Century Impressions of Natal, p.436.

<sup>122</sup> Natal Advertiser: Supplement, 10 September 1909. The total rateable value of property came to £58 880 during 1909.

<sup>123</sup> MSCE 5253/1920: Deceased Estate of John Nicol, 1920. His 5 daughters and 1 son were Executors. John Nicol died at his residence 'Banchory', Currie Road in Durban. His wife's name was Janet Isabella Nicol and she predeceased him.

<sup>124</sup> Natal Mercury, 9 December 1885; The Natal Who's Who, p.103.

<sup>125</sup> Natal Advertiser: Supplement, 8 October 1896.

His estate at the time of his death in 1919, was valued at £4 464 11s 9d.<sup>126</sup> William Palmer's firm William Palmer and Son in Smith Street served as Accountants, Trustees, Secretaries and Agents.<sup>127</sup> William Palmer himself formed a business alliance in the early days with Robert Raw and leased property in Block K (Erf 6) and E (Erf 7) from the Durban Town Council with a rateable value of £37 in 1855.<sup>128</sup> An alliance was also established with Benjamin Greenacre and William J. Chapman by 1909, concerning total rateable property in Mercury Lane valued at £660.<sup>129</sup> Palmer's estate was valued at £3 387 9s 2d at the time of his death in 1928.<sup>130</sup>

Joseph Ellis Brown, married to Kate Elizabeth Brown, engaged in the coffee business prior to his coming to Durban in 1877, and founded a similar business in 1878 at 45b West Street. His two sons, Rupert and Cecil, joined the business respectively in 1898 and 1903. Under their guidance as managing directors, the business grew and had to be moved to bigger premises in West Street in 1902. J.E. Brown's total rateable property in Cathedral Road (Block E) and 57 Albert Street

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<sup>126</sup> MSCE 3876/1919: Deceased Estate of Robert Jameson, 1919. His five sons and three daughters were appointed Executors of the Estate.

<sup>127</sup> The Natal Who's Who, p.153. As General Manager of the Natal Permanent Building, Loan and Investment Association, and Agent for Royal Insurance Company, he presented the Durban Town Council with a fire engine in 1870. W. Palmer was recorded in the Natal Almanac and Directory, 1880, p.343: Durban Institutions, as Hon. Secretary of the Natal Building Society and as Trustee of two Building Societies.

<sup>128</sup> Natal Mercury, 24 January 1855: Valuation List.

<sup>129</sup> Natal Advertiser: Supplement, 10 September 1909.

<sup>130</sup> MSCE 13506/1928: Deceased Estate of William Palmer, 1928. Palmer's three sons and two daughters are mentioned, but not his predeceased wife, Lucy Fanny Palmer, who bequeathed everything in her last will to her dear friend and companion Florence Marie Parsons. See MSCE 5736/1920: Deceased Estate of Lucy Fanny Palmer, 1920.

(Block U) was valued at £3 098 in 1909.<sup>131</sup> His estate at the time his death in 1919 was valued at £78 443 19s 3d.<sup>132</sup> William Emery Roberts, much respected by everyone in his profession as engineer and architect, must have also gained credibility by his marriage to Elizabeth Ward Fovall, who came from well-known early British settler stock. His humble beginnings, involving ownership in Cotton Co.'s Lands, Mount Moreland, in Victoria County, valued at £40 during 1877<sup>133</sup> and land leased from the Durban Town Council in Block B (Erf 58), worth £1 350 in 1884,<sup>134</sup> were to grow to ownership of properties in Victoria Street, Florida, Musgrave and Umgeni Roads, valued at £4 970 by 1896.<sup>135</sup> Property ownership was shared with E.L. Acutt in Russell Street, Block C (Lot 76), Block B (Lot 13 A and B) and Block C (Erskine Terrace) by 1899. Properties acquired by Roberts at 77 First Avenue (Lot 118), Block AK, Lot 3 of A/14 in Block A, and Lot M and Remainder of Lot N, Farm Chatsworth in Durban County together with Lot 3 of Block E, Farm Hatton in Pinetown, contributed to the total worth of his immovable property being £12 430 by 1911, when his wife was appointed as Executor of his will.<sup>136</sup>

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<sup>131</sup> Natal Mercury: Supplement, 22 May 1934 and 17 June 1954. See also: Leverton 'Joseph Ellis Brown', in Dictionary of South African Biography, 3, pp.112-3; Natal Advertiser: Supplement, 10 September 1909.

<sup>132</sup> MSCE 4035/1919: Deceased Estate of Joseph Ellis Brown, 1919. As a widower, he bequeathed in his last will everything to charitable institutions, such as Durban's Benevolent Society, except his house and ordinary shares which went to his two sons.

<sup>133</sup> NBB: Supplement, vol.XXXIII, no.1872, 8 March 1881: Valuation Roll of Victoria County, 1877, pp.87-114.

<sup>134</sup> Natal Mercury, 26 December 1884: Valuation Roll.

<sup>135</sup> Natal Advertiser: Supplement, 8 October 1896: Valuation Roll.

<sup>136</sup> Ibid.: Supplement, 24 October 1899 and 10 September 1909; MSCE 19/4: Deceased Estate of William Roberts, 1903. His total

Richard Webber Tyzack who arrived in 1850 had to support his wife, Louisa, and children as a tailor in a tent set up in Union Street (Block K, Erf 14). The property was leased from the Durban Town Council, and had a value of f14 in 1855.<sup>137</sup> Tyzack, serving as Councillor from 1861 and as Mayor in 1866, gained more wealth so that by 1877<sup>138</sup> he had acquired Lot 5 in Block L worth f1 080. By 1884 the same property amounted to the total rateable value of f1 350.<sup>139</sup> At his death in 1895 only property worth f1 130 was left to his wife and 7 children.<sup>140</sup>

Edward Pickering, married to Charlotte Ada, started his career as a bookkeeper and served as Mayor for the first time from 1873 to 1874. By 1877 he had consolidated his wealth in property in the Point Road Extension to the value of f1 614 1s. 10d.<sup>141</sup> Not only was he elected as Mayor again from 1882 to 1883, but also prospered, with property ownership amounting to the value of f3 410 by 1896<sup>142</sup> and to f7 200 by 1909.<sup>143</sup>

William Arbuckle junior (who emigrated to Natal with his parents), did not inherit from William Arbuckle senior. The latter died in

<sup>137</sup> Natal Mercury, 24 January 1855 and 13 August 1857.

<sup>138</sup> NGG: Supplement, vol.XXXIII, no.1872, 8 March 1881: Valuation Roll of Durban Borough, 1877, pp.162-84.

<sup>139</sup> Natal Mercury, 26 December 1884.

<sup>140</sup> MSCE 9/262: Deceased Estate of Richard Webber Tyzack, 1895. His wife, Louisa, died in 1899.

<sup>141</sup> NGG: Supplement, vol.XXXIII, no.1872, 8 March 1881: Valuation Roll of Durban Borough, 1877, pp.162-84.

<sup>142</sup> Natal Advertiser: Supplement, 8 October 1896.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid.: Supplement, 10 September 1909; MSCE 16837/1931: Deceased Estate of Edward Henry Pickering, 1931. He died at his house at 6 Edmonds Road in Durban, and was survived by his five sons

1886 and left all his valuable immovable property to his second wife and two other sons, Robert and Alexander, brothers to William Arbuckle junior.<sup>144</sup> William junior, however, who married Henrietta Shire, managed to build up a retail and grocery concern, trading under the name of Arbuckle Company <sup>145</sup> in Block Q (Lot 7 and 8) with a total rateable value by 1877 of £3 620.<sup>146</sup>

John Richardson Goodricke, the family breadwinner, was a qualified lawyer who, shortly after coming to Natal in 1849, was admitted as a notary public in Durban. He also became director of many public businesses. The total rateable value of his properties in Beach Grove and Smith Street amounted to £18 640 by 1896 and to £24 750 by 1898, which he left in his estate to his wife, Charlotte Duncan (Waygood), two sons and four daughters.<sup>147</sup>

Leadership qualities varied as did skills. All thirty-five Mayors were not equally wealthy; not all owned big properties and some must have found it more profitable to lease land from the Durban Town Council. H.W. Currie (married to Sarah Ann Rudder), who arrived in Durban in January 1850, soon became known as an engineer, machinist, and brass-founder, and became involved in erection of sugar-mills up and down the South and North Coast, for example Stephen Gees' mill

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<sup>144</sup> MSCE 4605/1886: Deceased Estate of William Arbuckle (senior), 1886; Spencer, British Settlers, vol. 1, pp.58-60.

<sup>145</sup> The Natal Who's Who, p.16; Leverton 'William Arbuckle', in Dictionary of South African Biography, vol.3, p.29.

<sup>146</sup> NGB: Supplement, vol.XXXIII, no.1872, 8 March 1881: Valuation Roll of Durban Borough, 1877, pp.162-84.

<sup>147</sup> Leverton, 'John Goodricke', in Dictionary of South African Biography, 3, pp.336-7. Goodricke was elected Mayor of the town in 1859. See also: Natal Advertiser: Supplement, 8 October 1896; MSCE 1699/1878: Deceased Estate of John Goodricke, 1898.

at Umhlanga (1857) and R.P. (Dick) King's mills at Isipingo (1858). Currie acquired a fifty-year lease from the Durban Town Council in the early 1860s for Lots 19 and 20 (Block B) of the Townlands on the Berea, where his cottage 'Invicta' was built on two acres of land. Currie Road takes its name from his family.<sup>148</sup>

Savery Pinsent, who remained single, arrived in 1849. He unsuccessfully started out farming in Victoria County and soon returned to his earlier profession of being a lawyer. From leasing property in Block K (Part of 1 and 15) with a total rateable value of £21 in 1856, Pinsent progressed to owning land in freehold in Block I (Erf 4) valued at £80 in 1868. He also became the owner of properties in Springfield (Durban County) which amounted only to £197 22s. 5d. by 1877. Pinsent gave much of his time to public service to the community, not only as a member of the Town Council, but also as a philanthropist, leading church member and journalist.<sup>149</sup>

Charlie Henwood (not to be confused with Paul Henwood, also a Councillor who owned the business firm called Henwoods in Durban, or James Clarence Henwood or John W. Henwood), arrived in Durban in 1860. He was the only Mayor who made the military his career; he was appointed as a Major in the N.M.R. (Natal Mounted Rifles - a colonial

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<sup>148</sup> Spencer, British Settlers, vol.5, pp.50-2. See also Durban Local History Museum: File 572133: 581 C: 'H.W. Currie'.

<sup>149</sup> Russell, Old Durban, p.274; Leverton 'Savery Pinsent', in Dictionary of South African Biography, 5, p.592; Natal Witness, 24 June 1886; Daily News, 15 May 1974; Natal Mercury: Supplement, 25 November 1856 and 13 February 1868; NGG: Supplement, vol.XXXIII, no.1872, 8 March 1881; Valuation Roll of Durban Borough, 1877, pp.162-84.



volunteer unit) and was actively engaged during the whole course of the Anglo-Boer War, including the defence of Ladysmith. Henwood married 'in', to Eliza Dorothea Downs who came from early British settler stock and had three children, one of whom married 'in' to the Paul Henwood family). His property in Campbell Road, Block C (Erf 20 and 21), which amounted only to £520 in 1899, grew to £14 400 by the time of his death in 1928.<sup>150</sup>

Arthur Harvey, married to Elizabeth Harvey (they had eight children) and Mayor in 1866, leased land from the Durban Town Council in Block F (Erf 15, 16, 17, and 18) which amounted to the value of £612 during 1868. He owned property only in Block Z (Part of 6) and died intestate with his property worth only £354 in 1872.<sup>151</sup> R.L.

Cunningham, a Councillor for Ward 5 and Mayor in 1887 and J.W. Stranack (who became Chairman of the Durban Chamber of Commerce in 1884), also a Councillor for Ward 5 and Mayor from 1885-1886, both leased land in Block D on the Eastern Vlei from the Durban Town Council. Stranack did, however, apart from leasing land in Block Ae (Erf 10 - part of Brickfields), recorded in Valuation rolls for 1877 and 1884, also own freehold land in Block F (Erf 8a) to the value of £1 170.<sup>152</sup>

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<sup>150</sup> The Natal Who's Who, p.90; Natal Advertiser: Supplement, 24 October 1899; MSCE 13445/1928: Deceased Estate of Charlie Henwood, 1928. NGG, vol.LIIII, no.471, 31 August, 1901, pp.811-56: Voters' List for Durban Borough, recorded Charlie Henwood as a Gentleman residing in Ridge road and as an owner of property.

<sup>151</sup> MSCE 4/19: Intestate of Arthur Harvey, 1872.

<sup>152</sup> NGG: Supplement, vol.XXXIII, no.1872, 8 March 1881: Valuation Roll of Durban Borough, 1877. pp.162-84; Natal Mercury, 26 December 1884-5, 13 February 1886, 8 November and 20 November 1887 and 10 November 1889.

Josiah Jasper Hillier, Mayor from 1887 to 1889, came to Natal only in 1881 and was, because of his financial skills, appointed in 1886 as Vice-Chairman and Treasurer of the Durban Chamber of Commerce. Soon afterwards he represented Ward 4 as Councillor.<sup>153</sup> At an early stage in his municipal career, Hillier's brilliant attainments were also utilized in devising improvements to the then somewhat unsatisfactory financial methods prevalent in the Durban Town Council. Thanks largely to his efforts the Municipal Consolidated Stock was created, and a large overdraft at the Standard Bank was paid off by 1889.<sup>154</sup> Hillier earned further respect when he, after relinquishing his business pursuits, embarked during 1890 upon the profession of law at the age of forty-one and was admitted to the Natal Bar in 1893. From his marriage to Jane Elizabeth Salt in England (prior to his coming to Natal), two children were born. His law firm, Hillier and Company, was a father and son business alliance. Francis Marshall Hillier was his only son.<sup>155</sup> Together they rented an office for the firm on property belonging to the Natal Bank Ltd. in West Street (Block F) during 1909, of which the total rateable value was £42 000.<sup>156</sup> The company even had offices in Pietermaritzburg.

The urban economy of Durban, especially in the last quarter of the nineteenth century (as mentioned in Chapter 1), revolved in large

<sup>153</sup> Ibid., 3 and 4 August 1887.

<sup>154</sup> Ibid., 23 September 1921: Obituary; Twentieth Century Impressions of Natal, pp.436-7; Don Africana Museum: SALJ 920 Hil: Josiah Jasper Hillier.

<sup>155</sup> MSCE 667B/1921: Deceased Estate of Josiah Jasper Hillier, 1921; Don Africana Museum: SALJ 920 Hil: J.J. Hillier.

<sup>156</sup> Natal Advertiser: Supplement, 10 September 1909.

part around the building of houses and the infrastructure of the city, with a high level of trading activity being concentrated in the city-centre. In its organization the colonial economy in general placed extreme emphasis on the formation and maintenance of families, as was also the case in other colonial cities such as in Australia.<sup>157</sup>

Evaluating the field of experience of individuals belonging to this political class should also include the significance of inter-racial contact in their occupational activities as business people, prior to becoming Mayors. Being involved in ownership or leasing of property and financial or legal concerns, they experienced only two basic types of interracial social contact on the work front: that between employer and employee; and that of patron and client. Such limited social mixing would have been the only field of experience brought to the conference table by these elected Mayors, who had to determine the affairs of other racial groups who were totally unrepresented. As Mayors they relied for advice on subordinate officers, whose reports communicated inter alia the wants and circumstances of unrepresented groups. This then was the range of experience of Councillors and Mayors in inter-racial contact. They had to take decisions and to chart a course which was both in the public interest and acceptable to those who elected them. They were not necessarily equipped to interpret the needs of other races.<sup>158</sup>

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<sup>157</sup> Patricia Grimshaw, Chris McConville, Ellen McEwen. Families in Colonial Australia (Australia: George Unwin, 1985), pp. xiv-v.

<sup>158</sup> N.C.J. Charton, M.J. Ashley and H.W. van der Merwe, 'Local Government Elite in South Africa', in H.L. Watts (ed.), Focus on Cities: Proceedings of a Conference (Durban: University of Natal, 8-12 July 1968), pp.239-48.

imperialism and colonialism was the vehicle by which this modern urban culture was transferred to the tropical world.'<sup>4</sup>

The significance of the port was that it linked the colonial city of Durban with the mother country. With the development of railways the city became an important part of a larger urban system. The discovery of diamonds in Griqualand West and especially gold on the Witwatersrand in 1886 prompted the city's linkage to mining towns; such that the city assumed commercial leadership in the economic growth of Natal. The export and bunker trade in Durban was developed, with the Natal Government Railways becoming a large consumer of local coal from the hitherto isolated northern districts of Natal.<sup>5</sup> A.J. Christopher states:

'The transformation of urban southern Africa was the result of the discovery of diamonds and gold, which in their turn brought railway development, other types of mining, particularly that of coal, the opening of Rhodesia, and the vast expansion of the coastal towns.'<sup>6</sup>

King's description of colonial cities as 'global pivots of change' has relevance to the colonial city of Durban. This change is reflected in its physical-spatial structure. Prior to the discovery of gold, the urban setting was essentially non-industrial: the port town was dominated by merchant capital held by shopkeepers and traders, as well as various stevedoring and shipping

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p.24.

<sup>5</sup> Ruth Edgecombe and Bill Guest, 'An Introduction To The Pre-Union Natal Coal Industry', in Bill Guest and John M. Sellers (eds), Enterprise and Exploitation in a Victorian Colony, pp.321-2.

<sup>6</sup> Anthony John Christopher, Southern Africa (Folkestone, Kent: William Dawson, 1976), p.160.

companies.<sup>7</sup> Nevertheless, Durban did experience economic growth in this period, benefitting from being the only major port between East London and Lourenco Marques and being well situated on the route to the East.<sup>8</sup> The White settlers were concentrated in the inner city as traders in close proximity to the harbour as mentioned in the first chapter. Economic growth is evident in the increasing trade through the port, valued at £51 000 in 1845, £495 000 in 1860 and at £3.2 million in 1880. The North Coast was linked by rail to Durban harbour, and sugar exports were valued in 1880 at £215 000, a quarter of the total value of Natal's exports.<sup>9</sup> This economic growth provided more job opportunities and the population increased from 4 463 (including 2 567 Whites) in 1861 to 14 208 (including 7 454 Whites) in 1881,<sup>10</sup> when Durban became the third largest city in southern Africa. Durban's profitable road/railroad connection with the hinterland and links with coastal trade and world sea trade<sup>11</sup> fostered the colonial city's growth. The intermediary trading function of Durban, was underlined in the physical-spatial

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<sup>7</sup> Swanson, 'The Rise of Multi-Racial Durban: Urban History and Race Policy in South Africa 1830-1930', pp.269-72; N. Hurwitz, Agriculture in Natal 1860-1950, 12 (Cape Town: Natal Regional Survey, 1957), pp.10-11; Paul la Hausse, 'The Struggle for the City: Alcohol, the Ematsheni and Popular Culture in Durban, 1902-1936' (unpublished M.A thesis, University of Cape Town, 1984), pp.23-4.

<sup>8</sup> Hattersley, British Settlement, p.88, states that by 1847 Natal was making direct importations from Mauritius - particularly sugar, rice and coffee plants. The Natal Witness, 1 January 1846, also reported that during 1846 'a brisk cattle trade to the Mauritius' had begun.

<sup>9</sup> A.J. Christopher, 'The Natal Coastal Belt', in Contree, 2 (Johannesburg: HSRC, 1977), pp.5-11; Peter Richardson, 'The Natal Sugar Industry, 1849-1905: An Interpretative Essay', in Guest and Sellers (eds), Enterprise and Exploitation in a Victorian Colony, pp.191-57.

<sup>10</sup> See Appendix J: Tables 7, 8 and 9.

<sup>11</sup> See Diagram 5 (Chapter 7: Railways).

environment by the growth of the town centre. This focused on the Market Square and its surrounding commercial enterprises. The concentration of the central marketing area in the inner city depended in turn on the port. Dependence on a hinterland trade was simultaneously demonstrated by the existence of the railway to the agricultural, as well as administrative centre of Natal, Pietermaritzburg.<sup>12</sup> This connection in 1880 of Natal's two major centres, for more effective bulk-cargo carrying purposes, was a forerunner of the beginning of an extensive railway development linking the port with hinterland.

Consolidation of the colonial port city's position as the 'dominant urban centre of Natal'<sup>13</sup> as previously mentioned, came with the discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand in 1886 when extensive railway development linked Durban harbour with the mining towns. Relative proximity to the industrial complex of the Witwatersrand gave Durban the advantage in competition with the port city of Cape Town. This is significantly proven by the fact that the the railway connection made with Johannesburg on 14 December 1895 contributed £745 703 to the colonial revenue from July 1895 to June 1896. The railways hereby became the largest source of Natal Government revenue, contributing to no less than 51 per cent of this amount.<sup>14</sup> The increase in revenue stimulated major expansion of the town and

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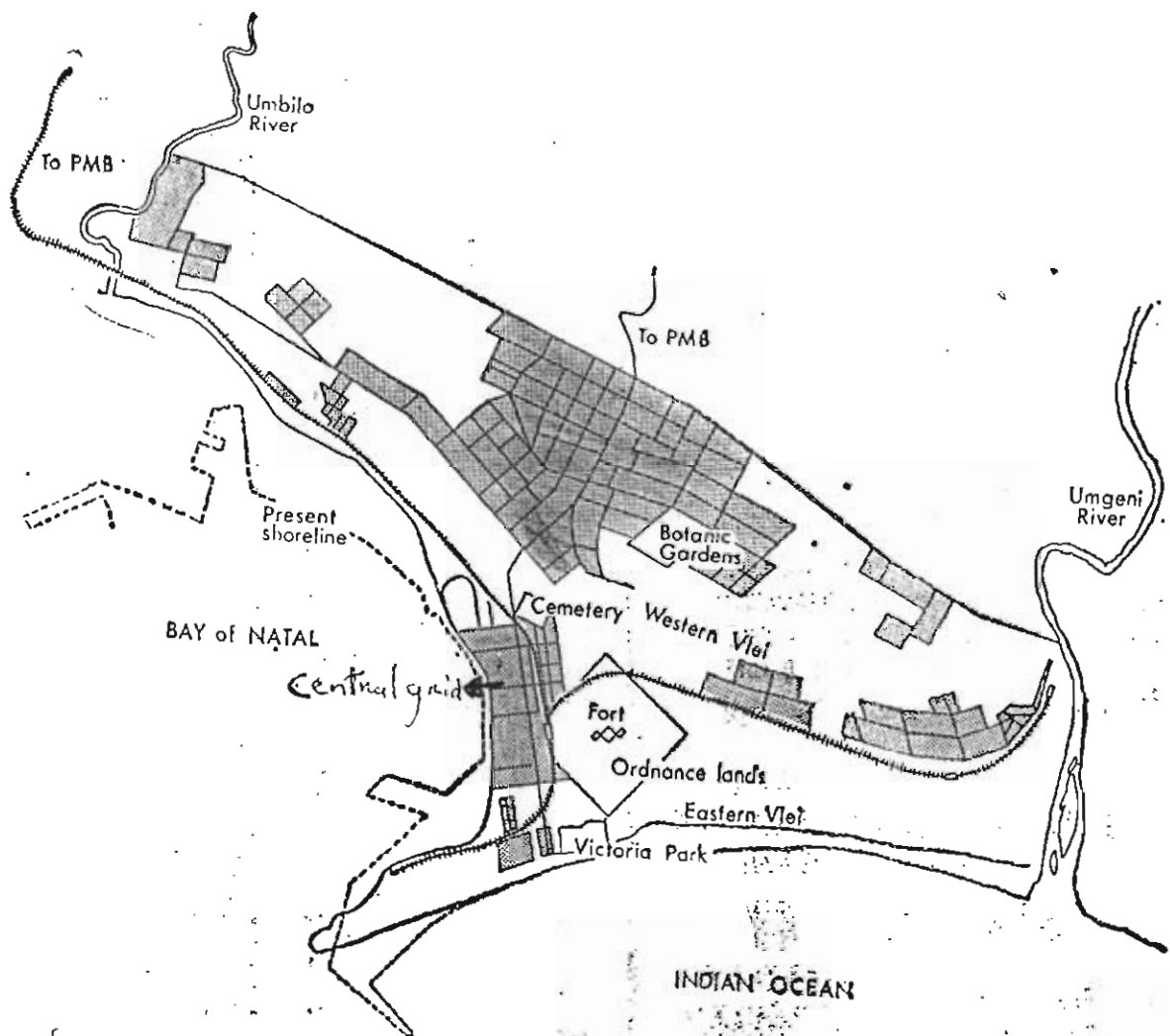
<sup>12</sup> Bruno Martin, 'The coming of the railway to Pietermaritzburg', in J. Laband and R. Haswell (eds), Pietermaritzburg 1838-1988 (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1988), pp.135-7.

<sup>13</sup> T.J.D. Fair, 'Durban - Its Sphere of Influence as a Regional Capital', in South African Geographical Journal, 31 (1949), pp.90-2.

<sup>14</sup> Hein Heydenrych, 'Railway Development in Natal in 1895', in Guest and Sellers (eds), Enterprise and Exploitation in a Victorian Colony, pp.62-3.



Diagram 29)  
Durban Circa 1878



By 1878 the areas shaded on this map had been laid out as building lots.

Source: Daily News; Supplement; Property News, 6 January, 1978; Housing in the 1870s.

Note: Population in the Old Borough is reflected in the expansion of the town away from the original central grid which in 1861 still contained all the significant built-up land. By 1875 extension away from the central grid contained 36 percent of the total buildings, 50 percent by 1880 and 73 percent by 1911. See R. J. Davies, 'The Growth of the Durban Metropolitan Area', in South African Geographical Journal (December, 1963), no. 47, p. 26.

harbour with a predominance of British trade-share.<sup>15</sup> The Durban population count at Union, of 69 165,<sup>16</sup> made Durban not only the most densely populated town on the coastal belt, (many were founded as company towns, such as Tongaat)<sup>17</sup> but allowed it to be viewed as a similar port city to Cape Town.<sup>18</sup>

'It was only the discovery of minerals which was able to transform 'a basically backward pastoral region into a modern industrial state, and their late discovery is the key to an understanding of the historical geography of Southern Africa.'<sup>19</sup>

Nineteenth-century urbanization, as seen in this wider context with evolving economic, social and political processes, shaping towns and cities individually as well as collectively, is reflected in the Durban physical-spatial environment.<sup>20</sup> Social, economic and demographic changes were incomparably dynamic. Despite this change, however, Victorian legacies left by this dominant British sector of Durban society remained evident in the twentieth century townscape of Durban. Their leaders, representatives of the settler elite, were the driving force, not only in government, but in the life of the town which was clearly British in the second half of the nineteenth

<sup>15</sup> See Appendix J: Table 5 and 6a, b and c.

<sup>16</sup> See Appendix J: Table 7a and b. Durban Mayor's Minutes, 31 July 1911, p.277. The Union Government Census throughout South Africa on 7 May 1911 determined a total population of 69 165 in Durban, made up as follows: 31 903 Whites, 17 750 Africans, 19 512 Indians and other Coloured races. Cf. Christopher, 'The Natal Coastal Belt', in Contree, 2, p.10, who mentions Durban's population at Union being 94 226; Official South African Municipal Year Book 1911, p.155, recorded 64 689.

<sup>17</sup> See Appendix J: Table 8.

<sup>18</sup> See Appendix J: Table 9.

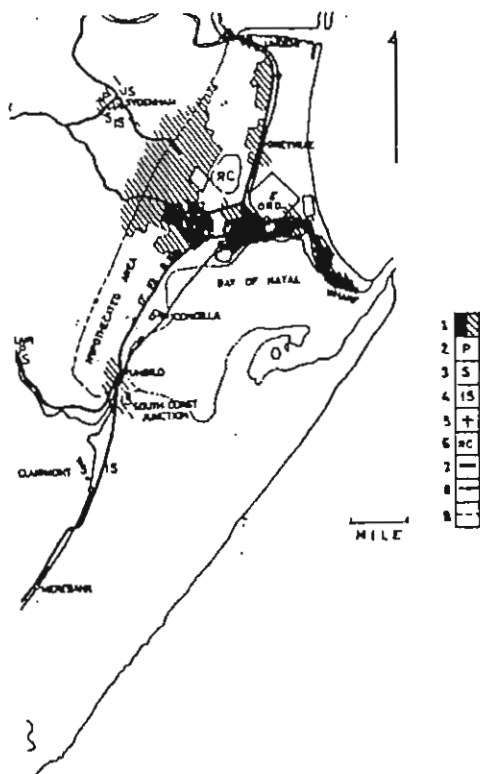
<sup>19</sup> Christopher, Southern Africa, p.254.

<sup>20</sup> See Diagram 2a.



Diagram 2b)

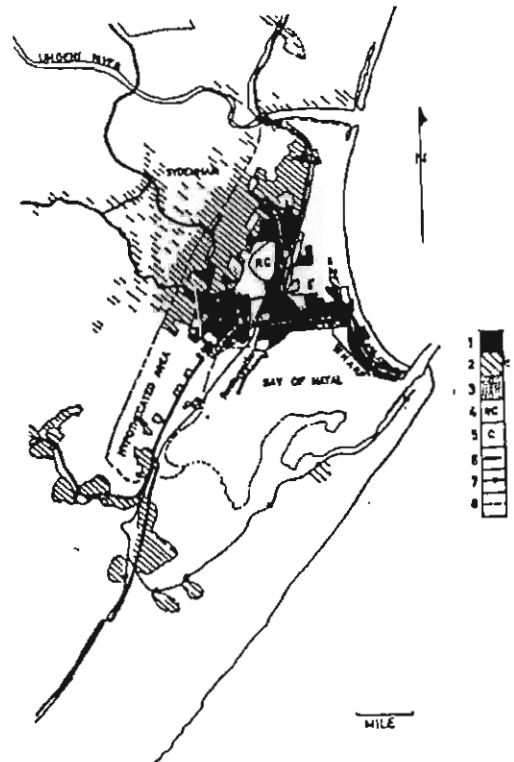
Durban Circa 1885



1. Approximate extent of Built-up Land and Partly Built-up Land
2. Post Office
3. European School
4. Indian School—Beyond Old Borough only
5. Church
6. Race Course
7. Roads
8. Railways
9. Old Borough boundary.

Diagram 2c)

Durban 1906



1. Built-up Land
2. Partly Built-up Land
3. Parks and Recreation
4. Race Course
5. Cemetery
6. Roads
7. Railways
8. Old Borough boundary.

Source:

R.J. Davies, 'The Growth of the Durban Metropolitan Area', in *South African Geographical Journal* (December 1963), no. 47, pp. 28-29.

century. The term townscape means the overall appearance of a town or city, or part thereof: the impression created by buildings, streets and gardens, resulting from a host of land uses.<sup>21</sup>

The effects of continuity and change, which require that the social structure cannot be treated as fixed, were especially visible in the fluid spatial structure of the inner city. There was displacement of residential use by business in the central part of Durban. By the 1890s it became clear that hotels, lodging houses, professional chambers, offices and banks, and shipping companies, were proliferating in the very heart of Durban and that the number of residences was diminishing. This change was visible in the peripheral residential suburbs (Point, Congella, Umbilo, the Berea, Greyville, and part of Umgeni) as the now denser inner city urban settlement extended in their direction.<sup>22</sup>

Durban at a glance had some similarity to many older English towns: it contained a defensive site and was formed from an original nucleus around a Market Square. The centre of the town was situated in the section with the nearest access to the harbour or sea, and the town rose to the steep sides of the Berea hill facing Durban Bay. The central section was largely built up by the beginning of the

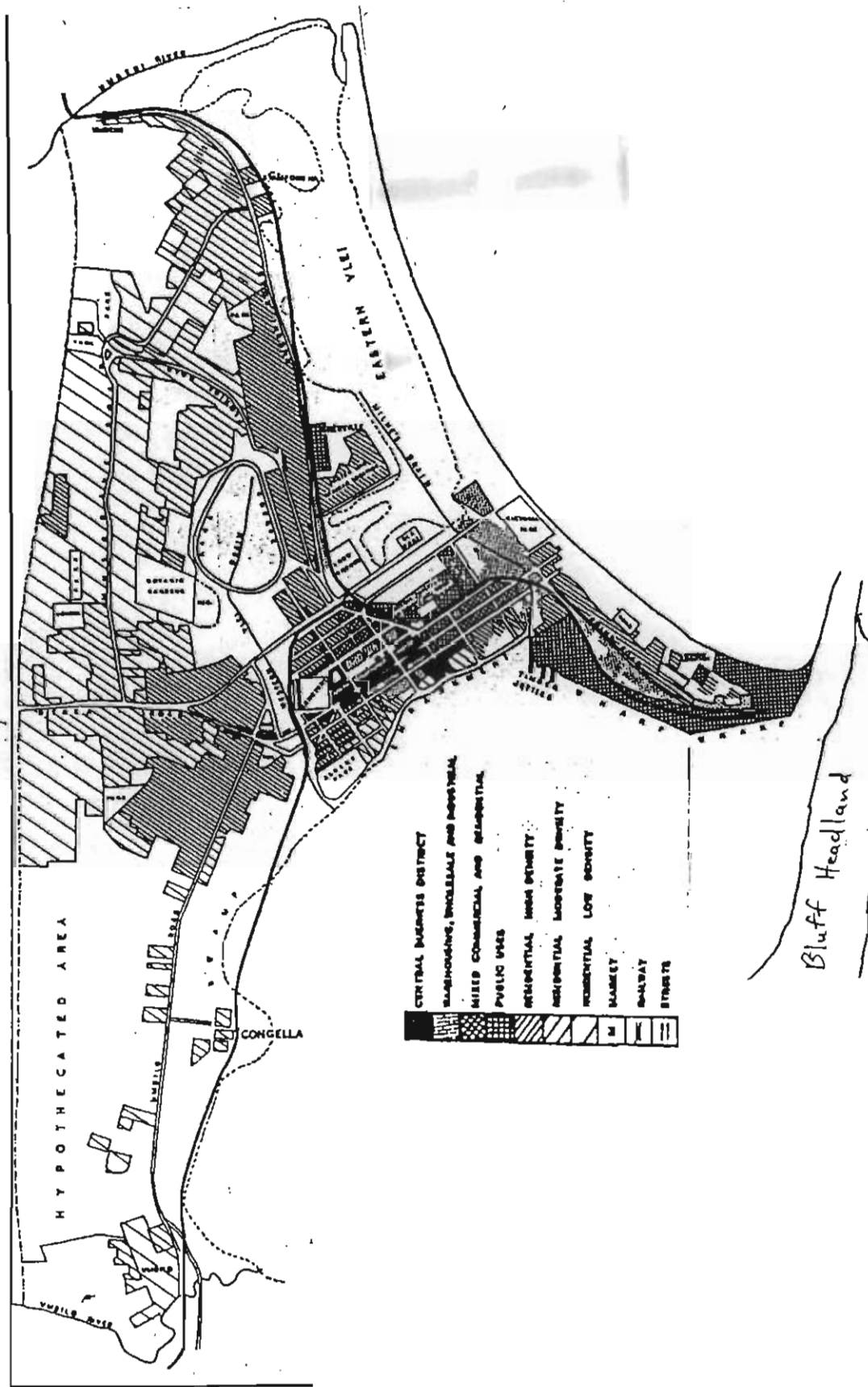
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<sup>21</sup> R.F. Haswell, 'An Historic Townscape Conservation Scheme for Natal', 61 (Pietermaritzburg: Natal Town and Regional Planning Commission Report, 1984), pp.9, 40-1. A checklist is provided, making possible the classification of *doorp* or town origins as reflected in the townscape of English or Dutch origin of most of South Africa's urban places. See Haswell, 'South African Towns on European Plans', in *Geographical Magazine*, LI (1979), pp.686-94; and Haswell, 'The Voortrekker *doorp*s of Natal', in *Natalia*, X (1980), pp.23-33.

<sup>22</sup> See Diagram 2abc and d. See *Natal Almanac, Directory and Yearly Register*, 1899: Trade Directory, pp.834-5; *ibid.*, 1901: Trade Directory, pp.231-2.

Diagram 2d)

Durban Urban Regions Circa 1906



Source: R.J. Davies, 'The Growth of the Durban Metropolitan Area', in South African Geographical Journal (December, 1963) no. 47, p.30.

Note: The fragmentary development of the Umfolozi Road sector is explained by the hypothecation of a large block of land, covering 1/3 of the Old KwaNtsha area, as security for a municipal loan in 1866.

twentieth century, and the buildings reflected contemporary styles in architecture introduced by the British settlers. These structures were based on Renaissance formulae. The General Post Office, Durban's first Town Hall, with a tower and its two wings 'remains one of South Africa's finest classical buildings...'<sup>23</sup> The first important building styles in Durban date from the 'Regency' and early Victorian periods. The Old Court House (now housing the Local History Museum), built in 1863, is 'an early colonial interpretation of the then current Classical Revival style thought suitable for public buildings.'<sup>24</sup>

The first impression of the colonial city of Durban was that of an informal townscape. It was an example of the less orderly, more vibrant and secular British town or city which stood in sharp contrast to the nucleated, regular Afrikaner 'dorp' or 'stad'. This was the outcome of British rule and adaptation to South African colonial circumstances of British town planning ideals and plans, following the large-scale immigration of nearly 5 000 British settlers between 1849 and 1851 to Natal.<sup>25</sup> The governing British settler elite in Durban was greatly responsible for this British imprint on the Durban environment (as discussed in following

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<sup>23</sup> David Bennett, Sally Adams, Rob Brusse, A Guide To The History and Architecture Of Durban With Accompanying Maps (Durban: Heunis and Associates, 1987), pp.33-4; Doreen Greig, A Guide to Architecture in South Africa (Cape Town: Timmins, 1971), pp.104-5; Brian Kearney, Architecture in Natal from 1824-1893 (Cape Town: Balkema, 1973), pp.1-20; J.J.Oberholster, The Historical Monuments of South Africa (Cape Town: Rembrandt van Rijn Foundation for Culture for the Natal Monuments Council, 1972), p.235.

<sup>24</sup> Bennett, Adams and Brusse, A Guide To The History and Architecture Of Durban, p.27.

<sup>25</sup> Haswell, 'An Historic Townscape', 61 (1954), p.14.

chapters). The common lineage of British settler towns in the colony of Natal, as well as in the Cape Colony, could accordingly be identified by their characteristic townscape elements, with typical features such as corner stores, libraries, masonic hall, cottages and front gardens, colonial street names, a church and an adjacent graveyard.<sup>26</sup>

In order better to appreciate the way in which the physical-spatial environment of Durban developed, it is necessary to examine its early history. The site or exact physical location of the place chosen by the early British settlers is compatible with the functions and features of the colonial city of Durban as it gradually developed. The first British settlers in 1824 colonised Port Natal<sup>27</sup>, primarily for trade. The initial physical settlement of make-do huts and enclosed cattle kraals was temporary. Of the original party of twenty-six traders in 1824, only six decided to stay on permanently.<sup>28</sup> Farewell and Company obtained a concession for the port of Natal from Shaka, the Zulu King. The territory extended roughly sixteen kilometres to the south of the port, forty to the north, and eighty kilometres inland.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> See Appendix K1 for the reconstruction of the central colonial townscape.

<sup>27</sup> Russell, Old Durban, pp.1-2; Chase, The Natal Papers, p.1.

<sup>28</sup> Graham Mackeurtan, The Cradle Days of Natal 1497-1845 (London: Longmans, Green, 1930), p.109. See James Stuart and D. McK. Malcolm (compilers), The Diary of Henry Francis Fynn (Pietermaritzburg: Shuter & Shooter, 1950), p.68, which reported an original party of thirty-five.

<sup>29</sup> Brookes and Webb, A History of Natal, pp.18-20. See Stuart and Malcolm (compilers), The Diary of Henry Francis Fynn, pp.87-8, where Fynn says that the grant extended fifty miles inland and twenty-five miles along the coast, and included the harbour of Natal.

On the arrival of Lieutenant King and Nathaniel Isaacs in 1825, friction was avoided by dividing the territory. Francis Farewell chose to remain in the area which would in future include Durban's Market Square. Henry Fynn chose the area around the Umbilo, at the head of the Bay, while King and Isaacs chose the Bluff/Wentworth area (later occupied by Fynn). The other Whites were either attached to these leaders, or lived separately: for example Cane's Camp was in the vicinity of the present Botanical Gardens.<sup>30</sup>

Closeness to fresh water, mainly provided by the Umbilo and Umgeni Rivers,<sup>31</sup> made feasible the now scattered camps of this trading post which were developing into a more substantial rural settlement. Central Durban was laid out on the site of Farewell's main encampment area. Farewell paid considerable attention to a constant supply of water. His encampment was on the more habitable dry site in the proximity of a water seepage (a natural spring according to Russell in Old Durban) near the corner of the present Field and Smith Streets whence the shipping obtained its water.<sup>32</sup> The Natal Government

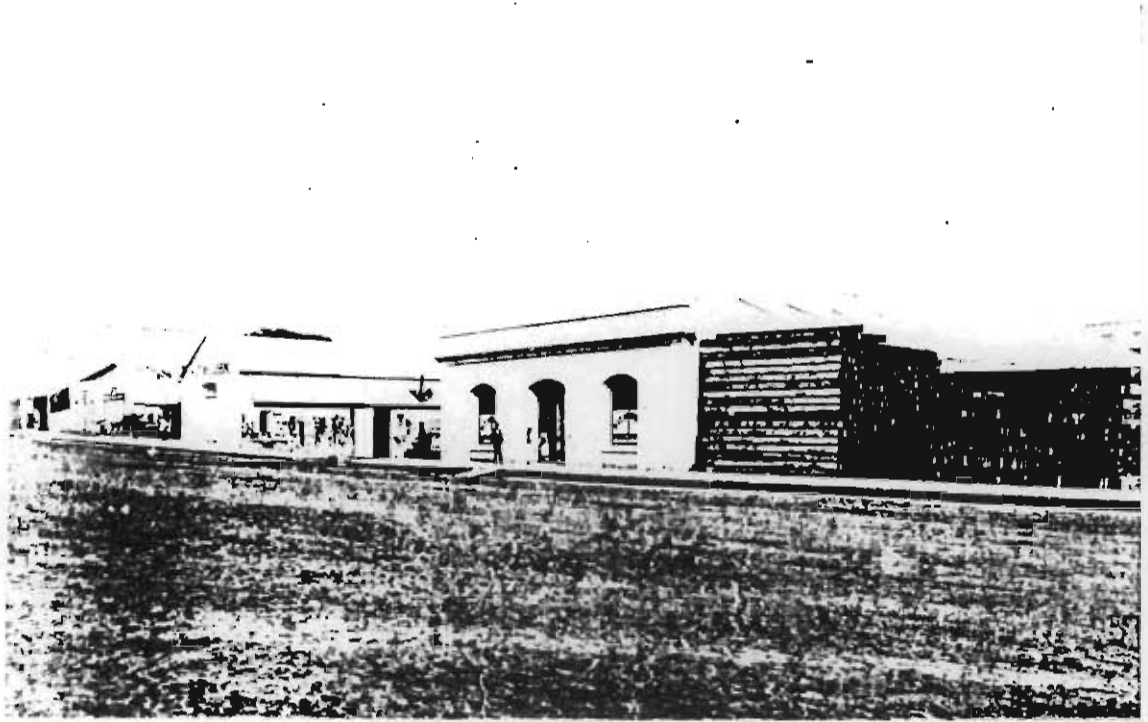
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<sup>30</sup> Russell, Old Durban, p.7; Charles Ballard, 'Traders, Trekkers and Colonists', in Andrew Duminy and Bill Guest (eds), Natal and Zululand From Earliest Times To 1910: A New History (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal, Shuter and Shooter, 1990), pp. 118-19.

<sup>31</sup> Both these rivers originally flowed into Durban Harbour. Durban Local History Museum: Files 547-547971: Railways, Harbours, Bridges and Engineering: Photocopy of General data furnished by John Milne, C.E., to Colonial Secretary, as included in Despatch from J. Scott to Secretary of State, 9 November, 1857, No. 84, pp.8-12. See Russell, Old Durban, pp. 71, 74, 177-8, 269-71, 274. The Umgeni River when in flood caused the rift in George Christopher Cato's land, hence the name Cato's Creek. See Daily News, 2 October 1942. The Umbilo River was canalised in 1943.

<sup>32</sup> Russell, Old Durban, pp.9-10, wrote that Gardiner's township was supposed to have been between the 'River Avon', thought to have been the Umbilo, and the 'Buffalo Spring', probably the site of this natural spring. The land is also reserved in the Title Deeds as Erf No.20, Block D, for a Public Well.





The old Borough "Parish Pump" in Smith Street between the two buildings in the foreground. This pump continued in use until long after the Umbilo Waterworks were opened in 1884. At one time it was suggested that the site of the ancient pump should be purchased and the pump preserved as a curiosity, but the site became too valuable and this old landmark was removed.

Photo. (Copyright: Local History Museum).

erected the first town pump here in the 1840s.<sup>33</sup> Higher ground without the danger of flooding had presumably made the encampment area a suitable site. Geological explorations made of the Durban Borough Lands in 1880 by William Molyneux for the society's political institution, the Durban Town Council, referred to the selection of this position:

'From the foot of the Berea the land is comparatively low, in many places it is scarcely removed above the sea-level, and in none, even its highest sand-dunes, possibly exceeding 30 feet. It consists of accumulations of blown-sand, irregularly distributed; and is intersected by low channels of clayey and peaty deposits. The sand tracts are here and there covered with lines and clusters of bush, and upon one of these at from 10 to 15 feet above the sea-level the town of Durban was founded.'<sup>34</sup>

The main encampment area had suitable water frontage for ships in the large semi-enclosed Bay of Natal, which was advantageous to the economic function of the future city. No town was actually contemplated until 1835, when Allen Gardiner sketched a plan for the town of D'Urban, named after the Cape Governor, Sir Benjamin D'Urban. The apostrophe later fell away.<sup>35</sup>

The indigenous population was incorporated into the social and economic structure of this society, as long as they provided the

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<sup>33</sup> See illustration. The newly created Durban Town Council's first task in 1855 was to replace the old pump in Smith Street. See Bjorvig, 'The History of the Durban Town Council, 1854-1879', p.60.

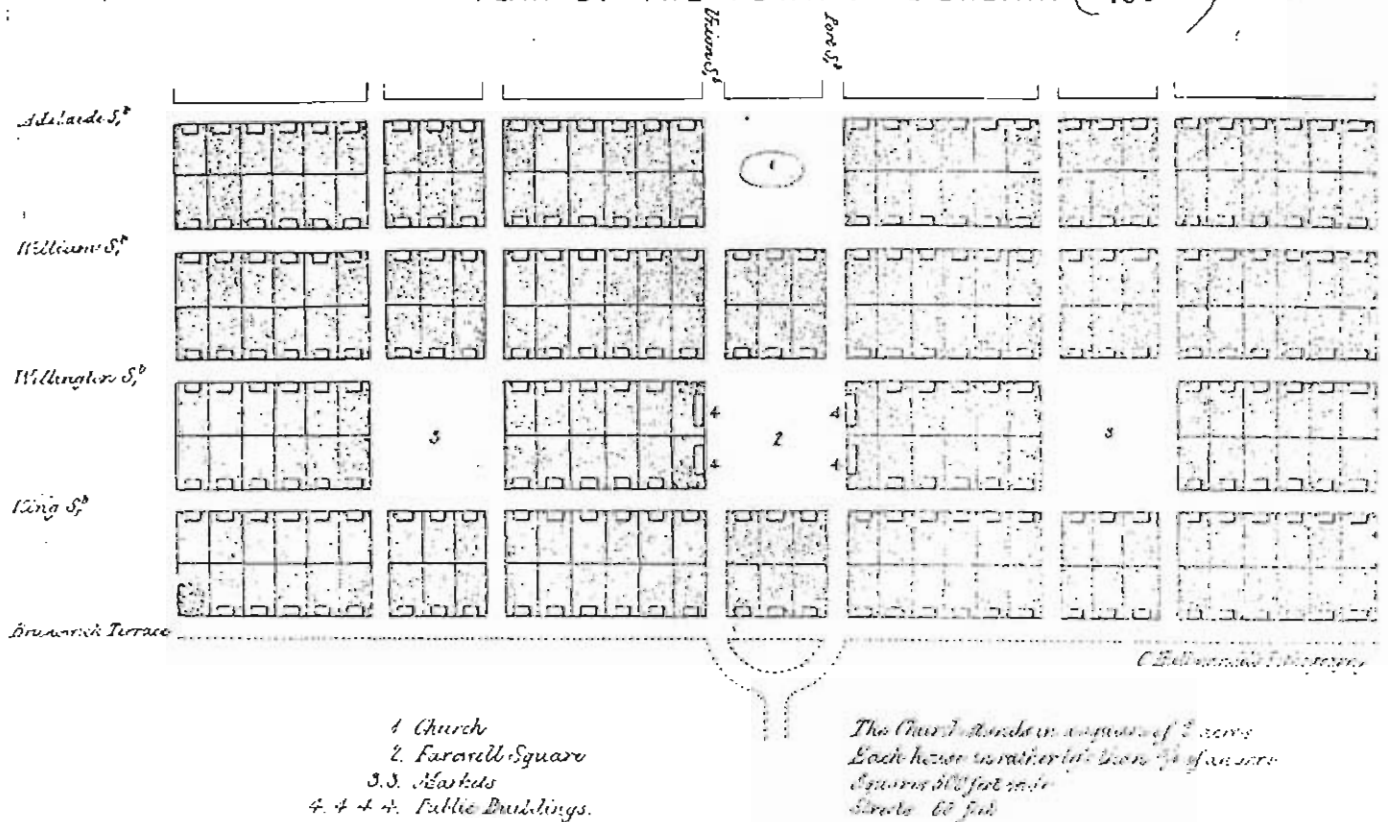
<sup>34</sup> Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1881: Loose Annexure: William Molyneux 'Geological Explorations in Natal Durban Borough Lands'.

<sup>35</sup> See Plan 1. Allen E. Gardiner, Narrative of a Journey to the Zulu Country in South Africa (Cape Town: Struik, 1966), pp.80-1. In 1838 the British Government had refused, on the score of expense, to set up a government in D'Urban in the Colony of 'Victoria' (so named by Gardiner in honour of the young Queen Victoria). Sir Benjamin D'Urban was approached by Gardiner for that purpose.



# Allen Gardiner's Plan

## PLAN OF THE TOWN OF DURBAN. (1835)



Published by W. G. & Co. Durban, 1835.

Source: George Russell, History of Old Durban, pp. 9-10; Allen E. Gardiner, Narrative of a Journey to the Zulu Country, pp. 80-1.

White settlers with wives and servants.<sup>36</sup> The latter practice, according to A.J. Christopher, entrenched the division of labour in the colonial setting.<sup>37</sup> Christopher also suggests that a consideration, when choosing the site, was possible danger from this same indigenous population.<sup>38</sup>

The Voortrekkers who came from the Cape in 1838 intended to settle permanently in Natal and selected and laid out the town of Pietermaritzburg as a Dutch dorp. They also established a farm village at Congella near a strong-flowing spring on the Western shore of Durban Bay <sup>39</sup> and near the Umbilo River. The flag of the Republic of Natalia, proclaiming Boer ownership of Durban, was hoisted on the flagstaff of the stockade 'Fort Victoria', at the Point, newly erected by a temporary British peace-keeping force ordered home on 24 December 1839.<sup>40</sup> Durban hereby became the port city of the Natalia Republic. The Boer Custom House, erected in 1840 at the Point and originally made of stone,<sup>41</sup> was the first colonial edifice recognizing Durban's economic function as a port. The

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<sup>36</sup> Russell, Old Durban, pp.7, 79; Rev. A.T. Bryant, Olden Times in Zululand and Natal: Containing Earlier Political History of the Eastern-Natali Class (London: Longmans, Green, 1929), p.3; Rev. William Clifford Holden, History of the Colony of Natal (Facsimile Reprint: London: Alexander Heylin, 1855), p.40.

<sup>37</sup> Christopher, Southern Africa, pp.239, 251.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., pp. 5-8. When Biggar with the Maseppa used this conveniently situated site as the quickest escape route into the Bay then out to the open sea.

<sup>39</sup> See Figure 1.

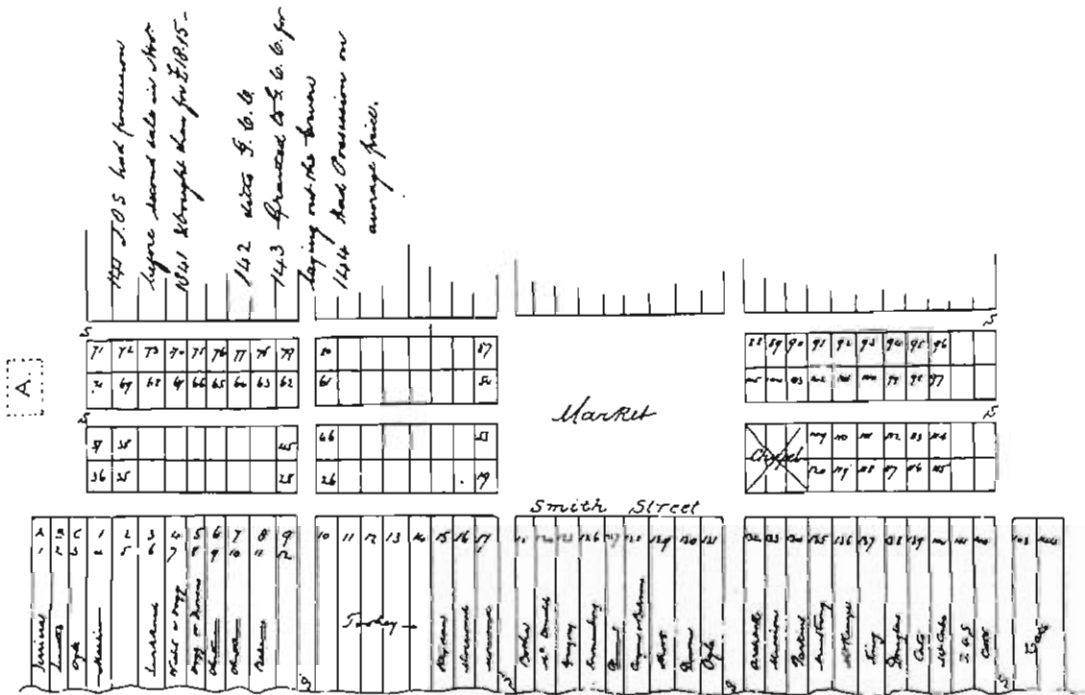
<sup>40</sup> Russell, Old Durban, pp.15-16. The stockade was erected by Major Charters and men of the 72nd Highlanders and Royal Artillery.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., pp.69-70. Russell writes that it 'formed a refuge for the few Englishmen when the Stockade was captured on the memorable 26th May, 1842'. It was however, destroyed by the ebb-tide current.



Plan 2

# George Christopher Cato's Town Plan (1840)



large market square, small plots, large plots  
fronting Durban Bay

Source : George Russell, History of Old Durban, p.61.

Volksraad (the Boer Government), drew up suitable Fort Regulations<sup>42</sup> and appointed the British settler G.C. Cato as Harbour Master, to enforce them. They asked Cato to lay out a plan for the town of Durban.<sup>43</sup> He chose the area of Farewell's main encampment,<sup>44</sup> and in later years explained that the exact site was determined by the fact that

'...the only dry part of the land thus selected was the East End...to the edge of the Eastern Vlei...and the whole of the West End, from Field street to Drew's corner, was splendid swamp.'<sup>45</sup>

As a merchant, self-interest probably influenced Cato's choice of a site so close to the harbour. Final approval of the site depended upon the British colonial power.<sup>46</sup> Annexation of Natal was

<sup>42</sup> Hon. Henry Cloete, Five Lectures on the Emigration of the Dutch Farmers from the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope and their Settlement in the District of Natal until their Formal Submission to Her Majesty's Authority, in the year 1843/ delivered to the Natal Society at Pietermaritzburg (Reprint: Cape Town: Solomon, 1856), pp.101, 109-10. The Rules and Regulations for the Board of Representatives of the People at Fort Natal and Surrounding Country were duly published in the Zuid-Afrikaan on 21 June 1840 and are recorded in John Bird's The Annals of Natal 1495-1845, 1, (2 volumes, Facsimile reprint: Pietermaritzburg: P. Davis and Sons, 1988), pp. 525-7. For Fort Regulations see also: J. Chase, The Natal Papers, pp.117-18.

<sup>43</sup> This was after he had won Boer favour through sailing to Delagoa Bay to rescue the survivors, chiefly women and children, of Trichard's trek. See Russell, Old Durban, pp.16-17, 58-75, 86.

<sup>44</sup> See Plan 2. See Bird, The Annals of Natal 1495-1845, 2, pp.325-27 on Cato's layout of Durban; A.E. Cubbins, 'Origins of Durban', in Contree, 23 (March 1988), pp.19-22. A Memorial in the present Farewell Square reads: 'In this vicinity Lieutenant F.G. Farewell and other original settlers resided in 1824.'

<sup>45</sup> Natal Mercury, 12 December 1882. Drew's corner' is where the West End Hotel stands today. See also Bird, The Annals of Natal 1495-1845, vol.2, pp.325-7; Russell, Old Durban, pp.60-6; Natal Mercury, 12 December 1882; Goetzsche, The Father of a City, p.28.

<sup>46</sup> England's search for new markets was never-ending. See Charles Wilson, Australia 1788-1988: the Creation of a Nation (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1987), p.11, who pointed out that to import from the British colonies and control 'raw material useful to employing manufacturers was a commonplace of mercantilist, nationalist economic thinking since the sixteenth century in

Plan 3  
Town Plan of Durban (1845)

**GENERAL PLAN**

**OF THE TOWN OF DURBAN**

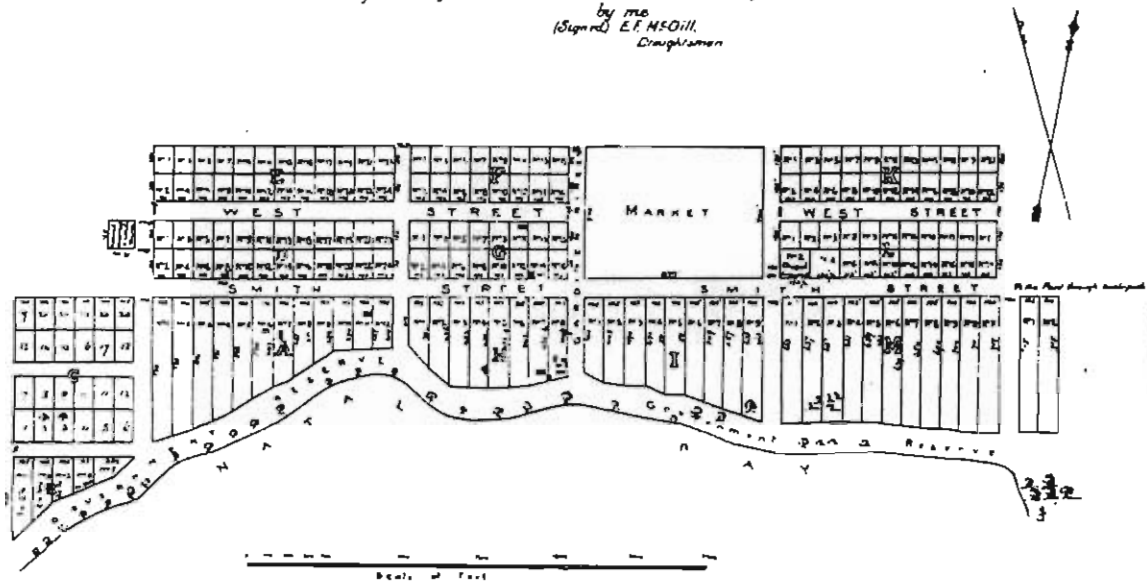
SITUATE IN THE TERRITORY OF NATAL

Containing 13 Blocks

Subdivided into 183 Lots

Reduced and compiled from the General Plans  
framed by Messrs. Cloete and Piers, Govt Surveyors in 1845

by me  
(Signed) E. F. McNeill,  
Draftsman



Admiralty Reserve included.

Plot lengths irregular as reduced to follow  
contour lines of Durban Bay.

Source : George Russell, History of Old  
Durban, p. 62.



The British administration of Natal appointed a commission in 1848 which recommended dividing the Colony into six divisions (later counties), each with a town and several villages at fords of rivers. This would ensure that water would be available on the main routes to the interior or along the coast. It also proposed that each town or village have a cattle enclosure, market place, church, school and magistrate's office, arranged within palisades for defence. A market square usually comprised one clear block of four to six hectares. The official town plan of Durban in 1845 elaborated on Cato's town plan.<sup>57</sup> A proper survey made in 1846 mapped the town lands, finally fixing the town's physical-spatial layout. The need for townlands was stressed, especially in view of Durban's cramped conditions. The purpose of incorporated townlands or commonage was to enable the town to become self-supporting. The town lands afforded grazing for the community's livestock, a source of firewood, clay for brick kilns, thatching reeds and stone. The layout of Durban as an urban centre, made official by this 'General Plan Of The Town Of Durban' as framed by Messrs Cloete and Piers, Government Surveyors in 1845, could be described as British<sup>58</sup> and different from those following the Dutch dorp planning tradition. Having a Market Square as the central focus was a typically British feature, in contrast to the early Dutch settlements of the Cape, where the central 'Kerkplein', with its church spire, dominated the skyline.<sup>59</sup> The physical nature of the

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<sup>57</sup> See Plans 3 and 4. Russell, *Old Durban*, pp.16-17, 56-75. He wrote that in 1845 Cato's Town Plan drawn up for the Dutch Boers, (Dutch Survey) evidently was adopted by Dr. William Stanger, who amended it slightly. The town was divided into Blocks or Wards and the erven renumbered, as well as the laying off of beach erven. Titles were issued by Lieutenant-Governor Martin West during 1846 and 1847 when the grantees paid up their original purchase prices.

<sup>58</sup> See Durban Town Plans 3 and 4.

<sup>59</sup> Haswell, 'An Historic Townscape', 61 (1984), pp.14, 41.

Durban town site, adjacent to the contours of Durban Bay permitted the grid pattern of the town. The largely rectangular form with the long main streets, West and Smith Streets, parallel to the Bayline,<sup>40</sup> is largely unchanged today. But the Bay line also determined the irregular size of fronting plots; these vary from approximately a quarter of a hectare to one hectare. <sup>41</sup> An expanding Durban would later share with Port Elizabeth the central town area's rectangular form, modified by its own unique and peculiar topography.<sup>42</sup> The rectangular form of the town and the rectangular blocks, were the outcome of the spacing of the cross-streets, partly dictated by arms of swampland from the bay.<sup>43</sup> These numerous irregular private roads<sup>44</sup> were created to increase access between harbour and city, and became lanes and arcades, crossing the central town blocks. This irregular and informal feature stood in contrast to the fewer regular cross streets of Dutch towns, such as early Pietermaritzburg. The commercial frontage of this central market

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<sup>40</sup> Smith Street marked the parallel to the Bay's edge until replaced by the Victoria Embankment in 1904. Back Beach Road marked the seaward edge. Final correspondence regarding acquisition of the Addington and Point Lands by the Durban Town Council took place in 1898. See Durban Mayor's Minutes, 31 July 1898, pp.81-2.

<sup>41</sup> R.J. Davies, 'The Growth of the Durban Metropolitan Area', in South African Geographical Journal, 47 (December, 1963), pp.20-22.

<sup>42</sup> K. Beavon, 'Factors affecting the growth and form of Port Elizabeth, 1820-1963: A Study in Historical Urban Geography', in H.L. Watts (ed.), Focus on Cities: Proceedings of a Conference 1968 (Durban: University of Natal, Institute for Social Research, 1970), pp.406-13.

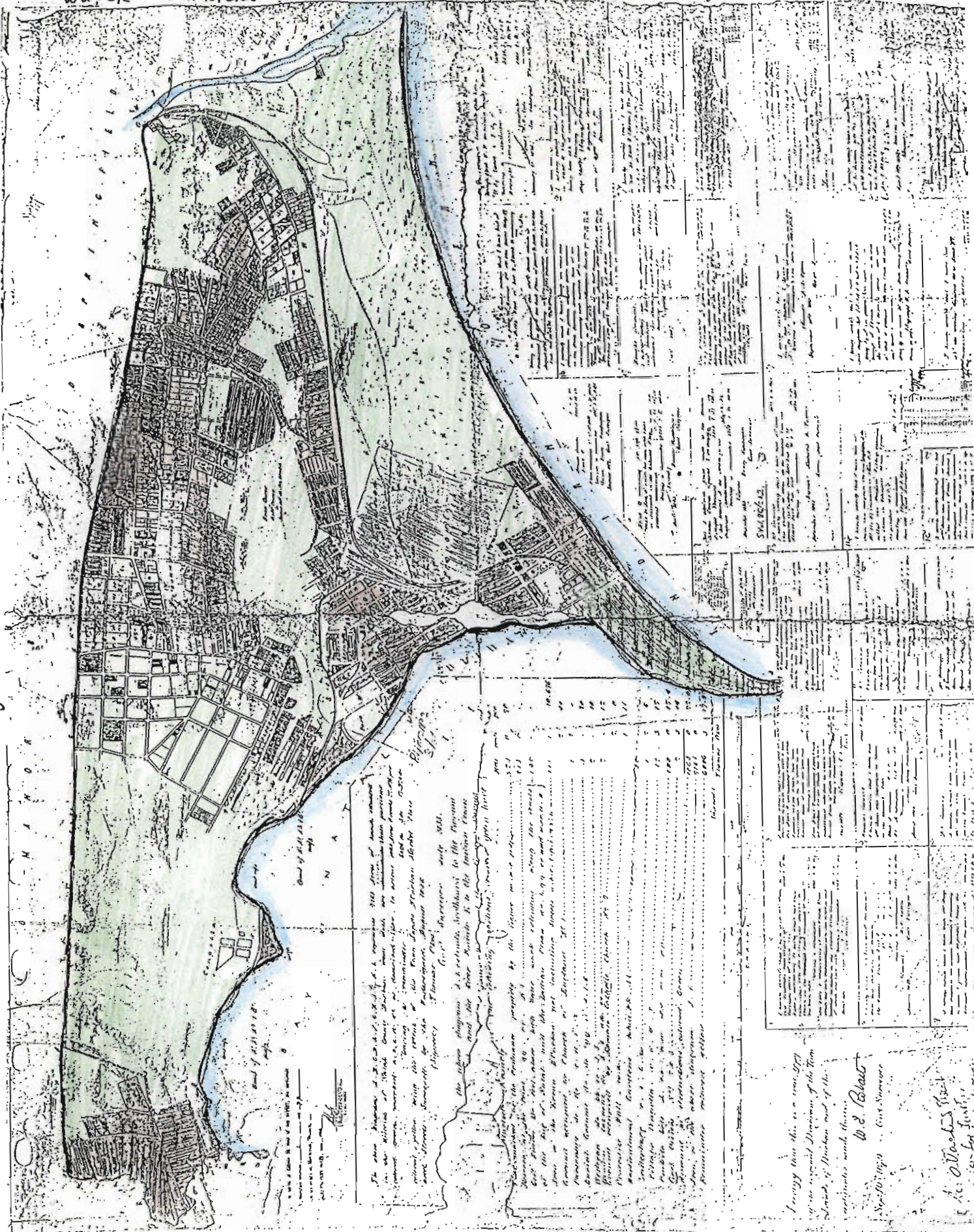
<sup>43</sup> Davies, 'Growth of Durban', p.20.

<sup>44</sup> Two important private roads were bought from their owners as cross-streets by the Durban Town Council for the convenience of the public in 1875, namely Mercury Lane and Mark Lane. See Bjorvig, 'History of the Durban Town Council, 1854-1879', p.47. Acutt Street was already laid off in 1862 and stretched originally from the Market Square to the Bay. The cross-street in the centre of Block L at the East End between West and Smith Streets, was purchased by the Durban Town Council in 1864 for the sum of £600 and officially named King Street after Richard (Dick) King, who owned the land there.



A true copy of the original diagram of 1846 and the filling in by 1879 with the borders of the 'Old Bokouh' clearly depicted by water boundaries of Indian Ocean, Bay, Umbilo and Ugeni Rivers and Bena K.

Figure 2



Source: Government Surveyor's Office, Pietermaritzburg



area<sup>45</sup> was established with the permanent settlement of the British settlers. In contrast to Dutch town foundation in the Cape, which tended to be small and foresaw growth by the ad-hoc laying out of new streets and plots as the need arose, the British established, at least on paper, substantial and complete towns.<sup>46</sup> The 1846 Diagram of the Town Lands of Durban as surveyed by the Government Surveyor, Thomas Oke, and again undersigned in 1855 to verify that it was the true copy of his survey and also endorsed by W.E. Roberts in 1879, clearly revealed such spatial arrangements. Portions excluded from municipal control were the Ordnance Property<sup>47</sup> (where the Old Fort is situated), the Point Reserve,<sup>48</sup> the Admiralty Reserve,<sup>49</sup> Durban Erven (excluding streets), Church Property, Burial Grounds, Horticultural Gardens, Government Offices, the Voortrekker Congella

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<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> Christopher, Southern Africa, p.113.

<sup>47</sup> Government Surveyor's Office: The 1846 Diagram of the Town Lands of Durban laid off Ordnance Property as 131 hectares in 1846. See Figures 1 and 2.

<sup>48</sup> At the Point Reserve (Addington), 87 hectares were allocated for settlement; Victoria Park 12 hectares bordering on the Point Reserve; Albert Park 9 hectares in the West End. These two parks were laid off by Richard B. Tanner in December 1865. Government Surveyor's Office: Original Diagram Copy 1846.

<sup>49</sup> The Admiralty Reserve, or Government Reserve, was drawn 46 metres above high water mark along the Durban coastline and was marked off as 57 hectares in extent. See Government Surveyor's Office: Original Diagram Copy 1846. The section fronting the bayside freehold lots was transferred to the Durban Town Council on 21 June 1894 for the building of the Victoria Embankment and by 1904 re-transferred to the Natal Government for the improvement of the Inner Harbour. See Durban Mayors Minutes, 31 July 1904, pp.5-6.

Hamlet.<sup>70</sup> and the Umbilo Village<sup>71</sup> (where Fynn and perhaps many of his descendants originally resided). This 1846 Diagram demarcated approximately 3 367 hectares of land in the Borough.<sup>72</sup>

Lieutenant-Governor (later Sir) B.C.C. Pine, proclaimed the townships of Durban and Pietermaritzburg to be Boroughs in terms of the Municipal Corporations Ordinance, No.1 of 1854.<sup>73</sup> Thirty years after the Union Jack had been hoisted on the Bluff by Lieutenant Farewell, Durban became a Municipality. The introduction of a political institution, the Durban Town Council, fought hard for by members of the settler elite such as John Millar, A.W. Evans and J.R. Goodricks,<sup>74</sup> added an administrative function (extensively covered in Chapter 2) to the colonial city of Durban's port function.

Lord Charles Somerset, the Cape Governor (1815-25), placed significant emphasis on the vista as an element in town design, as for example in Grahamstown, Worcester, George, Somerset East and

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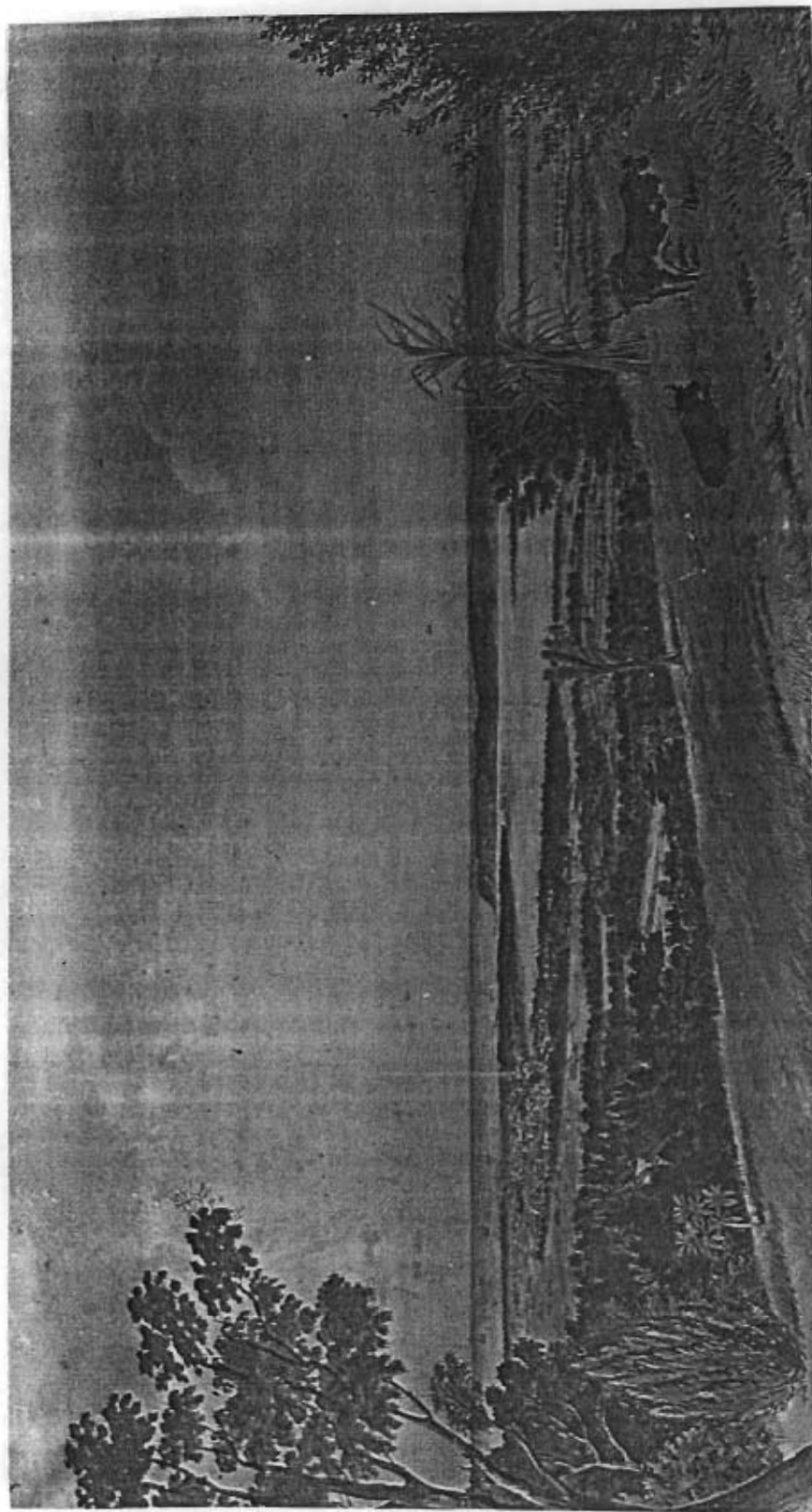
<sup>70</sup> To the Congella Village (an almost square fledgling dorp) of the Dutch Emigrants of 1838, 5 hectares of land were allocated by the 1846 Survey.

<sup>71</sup> The Umbilo Village was set out in the 1846 survey as 81 hectares of land allocated for settlement.

<sup>72</sup> Davies, 'Growth of Durban', p.22, mentioned 13 square miles. See Daily News, 24 September 1955. When the boundaries of Durban were extended in 1932, the Durban City Council erected stone pylons at the Toll Gate, the Umbilo River and the Umgeni River to mark the limits of the Old Borough. See M. Katzen and David J.L. McWhirter, Industry in Greater Durban, 1 (Pietermaritzburg: Natal Town and Regional Planning Commission, 1961), p.ix. This was before the incorporation of the peri-Durban areas into 'Greater Durban', which referred to the Magisterial Districts of Durban and Pinetown, and extended from Durban North in the north to Illovo on the South Coast, and as far inland as Hill Crest, covering a total area of some 72 520 hectares (725 square kilometres).

<sup>73</sup> Natal Mercury, 3 May 1854: Supplement: Proclamation.

<sup>74</sup> Russell, Old Durban, pp.136-8.



*Painting by James West -*  
The Berea near Upper Glenwood. Land in the Berea was, then, after the opening of the toll road much in demand although in the 1860s land was fetching £18 15 an acre for plots on the high slopes - £10 15 lower down.

The Mercury's Durban 150th Anniversary Supplement, 24 May 1974.

Beaufort West. Avenues closed on churches, drostdys (residencies), magistrates' offices, and even gaols, and thus focused users' attention on conspicuous images of authority and order.<sup>75</sup> Apart from the vista, an enclosed urban landscape akin to those of contemporary England was achieved in British towns of the Cape Colony, which influenced later development of Natal towns. Avenues of trees with lines of houses fronting on the road compensated for the lack of terraced facades.<sup>76</sup> At first colonial Durban notably lacked the grand physical features characteristic of the spatial arrangements of earlier British towns. The central axis of West Street, closing in on both sides of the Market Square, focused on the commercial aspect vital to the survival of the tiny settlement. Subsequently, the Market Square would be cut in half when West Street was made continuous <sup>77</sup> and the prominent civic buildings would be bypassed by West and Smith Streets.

The physical-spatial environment of Durban was still very much rural. John Bird recalls that when he landed in there in December, 1846, three or four mercantile men were anxiously watching events that might favour commercial enterprise: 'D'Urban had not then more than two hundred inhabitants, in cottages far apart from each other on the

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<sup>75</sup> Christopher, Southern Africa, pp.105-7.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid.

<sup>77</sup> The Durban Town Council in 1860 approved a resolution that all the main streets, that is Smith, West and Pine Streets be continued throughout land at the east end of Durban 'as far as Cato's bridge'. It was only by 1872 that these central streets had been extended to approximately 8 kilometres in length and West Street to the sea in 1878. See Bjorvig, History of the Durban Town Council 1854-1879, p.47.



site of the now well-built seaport town.<sup>78</sup> The first Custom House, which had given a Voortrekker imprint to Durban, was replaced in 1848 when E. Chiappini, a Cape merchant, was given permission by the Cape Government to erect privately a large and substantial structure of brick with slate roof at the Point, which became the official Custom's House and Queen's Warehouse.<sup>79</sup> Near the site of the Custom's House and the Old Stockade, Fort Victoria, men of the 45th Regiment built a Block House. It was constructed of stone quarried from the Bluff, and roofed with slate. Cato obtained permission in 1847 to erect a trading store and build a jetty on piles, as another port installation, below the Custom House.<sup>80</sup> An image of Durban circa 1850 as consisting of a few thatched cottages made of poles and wattles with whitewashed clay walls and verandahs, was conveyed by the descriptions of a few settlers. The only habitable portion of the town at this time was the East End, centring on Cato's property, where Cato's store then stood, along with a butcher's shop, Post Office, the Wesleyan (Methodist) Mission and, at the corner opposite the Court House, a Wesleyan Chapel.<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> John Bird, Natal: 1846-1851, in Natalia 1, (Reprint: Pretoria: State Archives, 1971), p.7.

<sup>79</sup> Russell, Old Durban, pp.69-71. To protect this property against the ebb-tide, the Government constructed a dressed stone wall, about 12 metres in front of the building. This work was carried out by the Harbour Engineer, John Milne, and was the origin of the Natal Harbour Works.

<sup>80</sup> CSO 38 (Part 2) no. 127/1846, p.97: Cato to Colonial Secretary, 26 September 1846; CSO 38 (Part 2) no. 139/1847, p.126: C.G. Gibb, C.E., to G.C. Cato granting permission to erect a store, 16 January, 1847; Russell, Old Durban, p.116.

<sup>81</sup> William Palmer, Forty Years in Natal: Reminiscences of a Colonist, (Durban: F. Davis & Son, 1891), p.5; Russell, Old Durban, pp.115-23.



Durban 1862. From right to left:

1. Wesleyan Chapel.
2. Benningfield's Mart.
3. New Baltic Buildings.
4. Steel Murrays Old Building (Smith Street).
5. The Market Square (Gardiner Street).

Photo. (Copyright: Local History Museum).

The commercial frontage of this central market area <sup>82</sup> was elaborated when the British settlers constructed permanent establishments from 1850 onwards and Durban took on the distinctive appearance of a predominantly 'British town' in Africa. British townscape features, such as general stores, banks and hotels emphasizing commercial activities gave a new aspect to the physical-spatial environment. These features stood in sharp contrast to those of Dutch/Afrikaner agricultural villages, for example early Grahamstown, despite its English cultural overlay.<sup>83</sup> Durban would share the mainly British town form with Port Elizabeth, East London and later Cape Town. As the central part became more densely occupied, commercial and residential plots were cut smaller, yet still had typical informal front gardens in contrast to back gardens as in Dutch dorpe.

Religious structures took on a secondary focus in this British town, in contrast to the central Voortrekker Church and Kerkplein of the Dutch dorpe. St. Paul's Anglican Church, built in the Gothic architectural style in the East End,<sup>84</sup> directly overlooked the Market Square in 1855, a Wesleyan (Methodist) Chapel built in 1851 was in close vicinity, whereas the first Roman Catholic brick Chapel, which opened for service in 1853, was in the West End on the land where the Church of St. Joseph was completed in 1881 and pulled down in 1901. The materials were re-used in the present St Joseph's

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<sup>82</sup> Davies, 'Growth of Durban', p.20.

<sup>83</sup> Patricia Elena Scott. 'An Approach to the Urban History of early Victorian Grahamstown 1832-53 with particular reference to the interiors and material culture of domestic dwellings' (unpublished M.A. thesis, Rhodes University, 1997), 1, p.140.

<sup>84</sup> Government Surveyor's Office: Diagram 1846/1855/1879. Land was originally allocated in 1846 as 1 hectare. See also: George Jackson, Music in Durban 1850-1900, p.73.



Church at Greyville,<sup>85</sup> while the Roman Catholic Emmanuel Cathedral and the Parish Centre and Presbytery commissioned by Bishop Jolivet, were built in 1902 near the West End cemetery (creating a focal point in the Grey Street matrix in present times),<sup>86</sup> which almost seemed to sanctify this main burial ground. The placing of the cemetery at the far West End on the outskirts of the original layout and not on a prominent site, was a typically European feature, rather than a British feature of townscape. It was, therefore, a shared feature of the British town and Afrikaner dorp in South Africa. That the dead should be buried is a tenet of the belief-system of the Christian faith.<sup>87</sup> The cemetery was laid off two hectares in 1846.<sup>88</sup>

Public buildings (discussed in Chapter 5) representing legal, political and cultural institutions in the city centre, such as the Old Court House, adjacent to the Market Square, and the Town Halls (1885 and 1910) in the Market Square, stood out as noticeably British features, portraying in the spatial environment the classical phase in architecture. These structures served to emphasise not only Durban's administrative function, but also her cultural function, with incorporated Library, Art Gallery and Museum housed in the present Town Hall. Increased prosperity and changing fashions encouraged the construction of larger and more impressive buildings mainly in the styles of Victorian and Edwardian England. They were comparable to those of British cities like Leeds and Birmingham,

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<sup>85</sup> Kearney, Architecture in Natal, pp.36-7; Russell, Old Durban, pp.121 and 160-1.

<sup>86</sup> Bennett, Adams and Brusse, A Guide To The History and Architecture Of Durban, pp.43-4.

<sup>87</sup> King, Colonial Urban Development, pp.22-47.

<sup>88</sup> Government Surveyor's Office: Diagram 1846; Russell, Old Durban, pp.476-7. The property was vested in Trustees.

Australian cities like Melbourne<sup>89</sup> and, in the South African context, those of Pietermaritzburg, Greytown, Grahamstown and Fort Elizabeth.

A fundamental feature of English towns and villages, as well as Dutch streetscapes, as Haswell points out, is a solid line of buildings, which are regarded as a single architectural composition.<sup>90</sup> The 'single line' formation which became a settled feature of the commercial and early residential areas of Durban, was an expression of the settlers' familiar urban experience. With the line of the roofs parallel to the streets, it most strongly demonstrated the settlement's British character. According to Ewart Johns in British Townscape, this feature is 'as a retention of medieval times.'<sup>91</sup> The English had a preference for pitched roofs rather than flat as in the Cape Dutch style. Typical surviving examples are the old Point Railway Station at the entrance to the harbour (at the junction of Point Road and Southampton Street), the Point Police Station and Point Fire Station in the Point area. The Old House Museum situated at 31 St Andrew's Street is a typical timber veranda house with a double pitched roof built on this site in 1849. Colombo Tea and Coffee (Fty.) Ltd, 465 West Street, built in 1902, is dominated by an exceptionally large central window.<sup>92</sup> The Natal Bank's large windows also contrasted with the characteristic small narrow ones of the Dutch buildings. A.J. Christopher saw the late nineteenth and

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<sup>89</sup> Asa Briggs, Victorian Cities (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1968), pp.57, 139-43, 195-8.

<sup>90</sup> Haswell, 'South African Towns on European Plans', p.691.

<sup>91</sup> Ewart Johns, British Townscape (London: Edward Arnold, 1965). p.52.

<sup>92</sup> Bennett, Adams and Brusse, A Guide To The History and Architecture Of Durban. pp.46-7.

early twentieth centuries as the age of the catalogue and pattern book where entire buildings could be chosen from a selection of alternatives; however, economic considerations in general necessitated the choice of inexpensive, simpler patterns.<sup>93</sup> 'The Mansions', a brick and stone structure with elaborate wrought-iron work built in 1904 in the inner city, is still noticeable in 535/543 West Street. This significant four-storeyed commercial building of the Edwardian period in a 'vernacular style with a wide veranda over the pavement and narrower verandas to the upper three floors',<sup>94</sup> is one of the few surviving examples of its kind in Durban. These superimposed on the streetscape a distinctively British colonial style which would be as much at home in Australia or Canada as in South Africa. The Durban physical-spatial environment could now be seen as portraying a new kind of social order, and could be characterised as a British townscape with such features as the recreational Botanical Gardens,<sup>95</sup> racecourse and parks (Albert and Victoria). Also imparting a characteristically British atmosphere were the streets named after royalty and persons who had distinguished themselves in the colonial setting, as was done in other colonial towns from Pietermaritzburg to Richmond to Escondido.<sup>96</sup> Each of these towns of course also had its own unique historical flavour.

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<sup>93</sup> Christopher, Southern Africa, p.159.

<sup>94</sup> Bennett, Adams, Bruuse, A Guide to the History and Architecture of Durban, pp.48-9.

<sup>95</sup> The Agricultural Gardens, which became better known as Botanical Gardens in later years, were situated at the foot of the Berea and were originally laid off as twenty hectares in extent by the Natal Government in 1846 (English Survey).

<sup>96</sup> Haswell, 'An Historic Townscape', 61 (1984), pp.31-41.

The colonial city of Durban in the nineteenth century, confined by its irregular water features, by gradually linking older settlements, grew into a long valley-town. Today, the long rectangular street pattern in this central part, the disposition of the buildings and the character of the facades help to retain the historical British character as well as its commercial character. A good deal of land in the lower levels of the Eastern Vlei between the old town and the sea, previously lying open, has been filled in by streets. The Eastern Vlei influenced the peculiar urban development of Durban northwards on higher ground following the Umgeni Road to the Umgeni River, which it half circled.<sup>97</sup> Stamford Hill Road, extensively cleared in 1873,<sup>98</sup> became a 'Main Street'.<sup>99</sup>

Two most ambitious land-filling schemes were set under way by the Natal Government and Durban Town Council in the first decade of the twentieth century. These involved reclamation of the two vleis.<sup>100</sup> The reclamation of the Eastern Vlei led to the emergence of the sea-side holiday trade modelled on that of England. This was enhanced by the attractions of an extensive ocean beach offering possibilities of developing a commercially lucrative resort. The

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<sup>97</sup> The Umgeni Village was laid off in June 1866 as 7 hectares by R.S. Upton, Government Surveyor. See Government Surveyor's Office: Diagram Copy 1846. The layout of this village is clearly visible on the Frank Maynard Map 1894 and Fletcher's Plan of Durban, 1906.

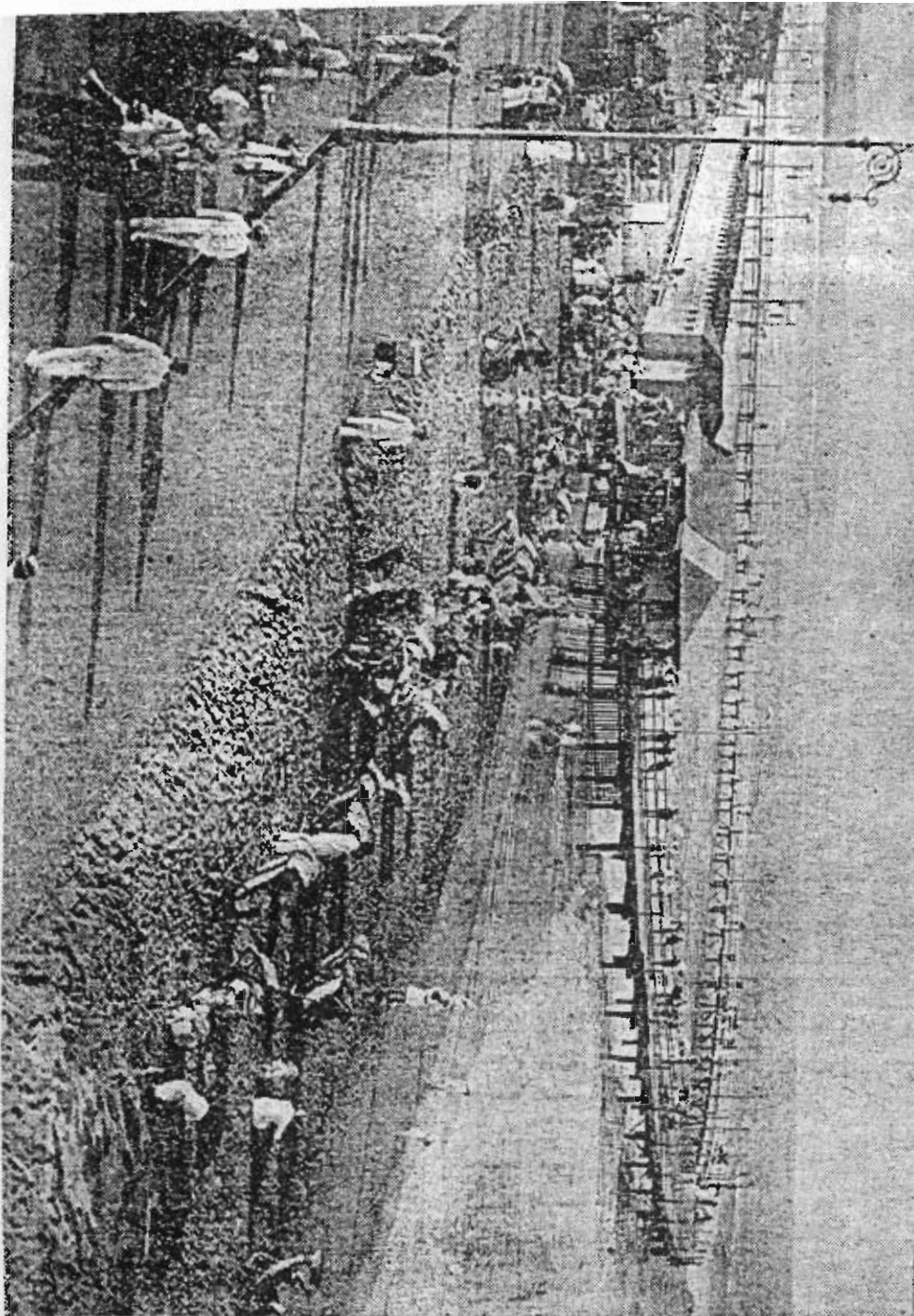
<sup>98</sup> Bjorvig, 'History of the Durban Town Council, 1854-1879', p.45.

<sup>99</sup> Haswell, 'Making of the Durban Townscape', in Geographical Magazine, L1 (1979), p.6.

<sup>100</sup> See Appendix I.



# *This Was Durban Beach 35 Years Ago*



This interesting old picture shows Durban North Beach as it was 35 years ago. The lower promenade had just been completed, and the original semi-circular pier, with its safe bathing enclosure was erected as an experiment, by the Durban Town Council.

Senator F. C. Hollander, J.P., who was a Town Councillor in 1905 and chairman of the Beach Committee, said to-day the pier was given a life of eight years, but by repairs, its existence was prolonged for a further four years. It was eventually demolished by strong winds and high seas.

It was thus established that a structure of that kind

could not stand up to the open sea.

The pier was built simultaneously from the two beach ends, and when the semi-circle was completed Senator Hollander, Mr. William Cooley (then Town Clerk) and the late Mr. J. Fletcher (then City Engineer) walked to the centre and cracked a bottle of champagne in celebration.

The promenade seen in the picture was the first step in beach improvement. Concurrently the Council hardened the Beach Road.

The beach immediately became popular and attracted thousands of visitors from the Transvaal.

driving forces behind such ocean beach developments after 1906, were Mayor J. Ellis Brown and Councillor Felix Hollander. The improvements were carried out by the Borough Engineer, J. Fletcher, and Consultant Engineer to the Durban Town Council, Cathcart Metcoven. The first works carried out in 1907 were a semi-circular bathing enclosure and a portion of the low level esplanade, followed in the post-Union period by retaining walls, the paddling ponds, rockeries and ornamental gardens, extending from the present Dairy Beach to South Beach.<sup>101</sup> Interest in beach holidays has to be understood against the background of growing economic prosperity which led to increased affluence and leisure and was facilitated by completion of the subcontinental railway system.<sup>102</sup>

Whereas in 1850 a building height of two storeys was introduced, physical structures of up to four storeys would by 1910 begin to mark the emergence of business displacing private residences in the main streets.<sup>103</sup> Gardens, with a minimum of enclosure, and a great variety of trees planted on the grass verges of almost every road, helped to create a type of town landscape which is peculiarly

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<sup>101</sup> Durban Mayor's Minutes, 31 July 1906, pp.42-5, 51-6; ibid., 31 July, 1907, p.9; Natal Almanac, Directory and Yearly Register 1909: Durban, pp.258-9; Roy Lynsky, They Built a City (Durban City Engineer's Department 1882-1982. Durban: Concept Communications, 1982), pp.35-6. For Davies these developments in 'Growth of Durban', p.24, portray a morphological pattern characteristic of a seafront resort. 'Three distinct zones have evolved - a sea-front strip of beach recreation facilities, a zone of hotels and blocks of flats built upon the crest-line of former sand-dunes and an inner zone of recreation facilities upon larger land lots to the north and grading into the Eastern Vlei recreation sector.'

<sup>102</sup> Christopher, Southern Africa, p.188.

<sup>103</sup> Natal Almanac, Directory and Yearly Register, 1910: Durban, pp.275-7.

English.<sup>104</sup> The late nineteenth century 'gave birth to the idea that cities could exist in a garden-like setting, and also to the seemingly very different viewpoint that buildings in towns should reflect the shapes and materials of a new industrial age.'<sup>105</sup> Medwood Gardens<sup>106</sup> in central Durban on part of the old Market Square, is a living memorial to this idea of a pleasant sanctuary in the busy West Street.

Much needed wharf and berth facilities were created with reclamation of Congella lands in the Western Vlei commenced in 1902. Such port expansion, predominantly a continuation of the Victoria Embankment,<sup>107</sup> accentuated the port function of the colonial city of Durban. The significance of the opening of the 'Congella (Maydon) Wharf Estate' in October 1906,<sup>108</sup> was that it made possible the enormous development of the Bay Lands as an industrial area in the post-Union period.<sup>109</sup> The leading timber concerns of W.F. Johnstone and Hunt, Leuchars and Hepburn benefitted enormously by this Inner Expansion of Port Natal. These members of the settler elite were to

<sup>104</sup> See Johns, British Townscape, p.139.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid., p.182.

<sup>106</sup> Daily News, 21 September 1955. The gardens were so named in honour and memory of Dr Medley Wood, who succeeded William Keit (1872-1882) as Curator of the Durban Botanical Gardens in 1882.

<sup>107</sup> Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1902, p.10.

<sup>108</sup> Durban Local History Museum: Files 547-54797: Railways, Harbours, Bridges and Engineering: Report of Secretary/Port Advisory Board to Minister of Railways and Harbours, 1906; Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1905, p.41.

<sup>109</sup> See Figure 6. The largest grain elevator in South Africa was placed here in 1927, followed by three huge Sugar Terminals and Shipbuilding, as well as the first Floating Dock in 1904 and the Dry (Graving Dock) in 1924.

contribute to making Durban the centre for local activity in the building trade. The first shipment of timber (wattle) left Natal as early as 1887 for export. Durban harbour became the port of entry for stocks of timber and materials for dispatch to the hinterland of Natal and the developing Witwatersrand.<sup>110</sup> The two above mentioned timber concerns were naturally the first to acquire a foothold on this newly reclaimed land,<sup>111</sup> which had hitherto blocked Durban's development southwards. The linear urban development continued when permanent bridges replaced the punts over the rivers, the earlier Victoria Bridge over the Umgeni being completed in 1864 and the Umbilo Bridge in 1865.<sup>112</sup>

Industrialists were much slower than traders in organizing themselves into one group which could communicate directly with other colonial governing bodies in the South African context. Not until 11 October 1905 did the Natal Manufacturers' Association come into being. When it changed its name to Natal Chamber of Industries in 1923, 'it was an organisation to be heeded throughout the country.'<sup>113</sup> Members of the settler elite, whether as traders or manufacturers or firms, could voice their needs countrywide by means of the two leading financial institutions, the Durban Chamber of Commerce and the Natal Manufacturers' Association (mentioned in Chapters 3 and 5).

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<sup>110</sup> Killie Campbell Museum: Booklet: 'Hunt, Leuchars and Hebburn Limited: 100 Years of Progress, 1850-1950', p.19. (Durban: ?, 1950).

<sup>111</sup> Durban Local History Museum: Files 547-54797: Railways, Harbours, Bridges and Engineering: Report of Secretary/Port Advisory Board to Minister of Railways and Harbours, 1906.

<sup>112</sup> See illustration. See Bjorvig, 'History of the Durban Town Council, 1854-1879', pp. 48-9.

<sup>113</sup> Daily News: Supplement: 100 Years of The Daily News 1878-1978, 5 January 1978.



Major inner expansion (berths) of Durban harbour on the Bluff side from 1904 onwards has to be attributed to the coal trade. Great foresight was shown here by the Rand-financed and Durban-based Natal Navigation Collieries (founded in 1898 and affiliated with Michael Cotts and Co.),<sup>114</sup> who used the harbour as their point of shipment as it was more profitable to run the coal straight to the Bluff, avoiding costly transit through central Durban. More berth space was created here as well by land reclamation. The Port Advisory Board which handled these matters, was made up of prominent members of the settler elite such as Mayor J. Ellis Brown, B.W. Greenacre and John Nicol, who also had a stake in the coal mines. B.W. Greenacre, for example, was one of the Directors of the Dundee (Natal) Coal Company and its Chairman in 1899.<sup>115</sup>

'In the colonial city there was rarely an urban management problem as planning authority and vested interest were one and the same thing.'<sup>116</sup>

Important changes affecting the physical appearance of Durban, including technological developments such as railways, tramways, harbour improvements, telephones, electricity and sanitary improvements and the role played by the governing elite, are discussed in more detail in Chapters 6, 7, 8 and 9.

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<sup>114</sup> NHD 1/3/11, Minute Paper, no. 1275/1902: Natal Navigation Collieries Limited's recommendation, 7/11/1902. See Figure 6. See Edgercombe and Guest, 'An Introduction To The Pre-Union Natal Coal Industry', in Guest and Sellers (eds), Enterprise and Exploitation in a Victorian Colony, p.316; Natal Almanac, Directory and Yearly Register, 1900: Trade Directory, pp.347-66.

<sup>115</sup> Natal Almanac, Directory and Yearly Register, 1899: Durban Companies, pp.783-90.

<sup>116</sup> King, Colonial Urban Development, p.24.

Durban by 1910 had a 'high style Victorian and Edwardian overtone' but carried what Haswell describes as a 'blending process of building types, 'with a veritable melting pot of European, African and Indian images.'<sup>117</sup> This happened as increasing provision had to be made by the dominant sector of Durban society for accommodation of other races.

'The colonial city was a "container" of cultural pluralism but one where one particular cultural section had the monopoly of political power.'<sup>118</sup>

The extensive spatial provision within this colonial settlement area, and the spatial division between it and settlements of other races were, therefore, to be accounted for not simply in terms of cultural differences but in terms of the distribution of power. According to King, in Colonial Urban Development, only this can explain why labour opportunities and urban amenities were more available in the spatial, cultivated areas in the colonial settlement.<sup>119</sup> Barracks or compounds for the housing of certain categories of Indian and African labourers, mainly employed by the Natal Government and Durban Town Council,<sup>120</sup> were established at the Point, in Queen Street, and near the Powder Magazine on the Eastern Vlei. These barracks duplicated ones built by the British in India. Salisbury

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<sup>117</sup> Haswell, 'Making of the Durban Townscape', p. 24.

<sup>118</sup> King, Colonial Urban Development, p.40.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid., pp. 39-40.

<sup>120</sup> Natal Mercury, 19 August 1885; Daily News; Property Supplement, 6 January 1978.

Island,<sup>121</sup> Fynnlands on the Bluff<sup>122</sup>, a lazaret facing the Indian Ocean on the Bluff side, and structures on sugar farms along the Coast from 1860 onwards, provided temporary accommodation for indentured Indian settlers.<sup>123</sup> The placing of Reserves or Townships for Africans at Umlaas to the south and Inanda to the north of Durban were for peripheral settlement, and as such were typical of racial segregation in South African towns generally.<sup>124</sup> Davies's interpretation is that the future expansion of Durban was influenced by this demarcation, which in terms of the proclamation of the Durban Borough in 1854 prevented the city expanding 'into a semi-circle commonly associated with the growth of a coastal city and has given rise to rectangular corridor shaped extensions.'<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>121</sup> The first cholera-infected Indian settlers were accommodated here in 1860 on their arrival. A section of Salisbury Island was leased in the first decade of the twentieth century for residential purposes to Indians, but, after Union was handed over to the Admiralty base at Simonstown. Durban Local History Museum: Files 547-54797: Railways, Harbours, Bridges and Engineering: Annual Reports for the period 1905-1908: Secretary, Natal Harbour Department to Minister of Railways and Harbours; Natal Mercury, 23 and 27 November 1945; Daily News, 16 November 1945.

<sup>122</sup> A plaque at Fynnlands on the Bluff still commemorates the settlement of Indian immigrants in this vicinity.

<sup>123</sup> These Indian settlers were mostly Hindi- or Tamil-speaking Hindus. See G.H. Galpin, Indians in South Africa (Pietermaritzburg: Shuter and Shooter, 1949), pp.4-29; Joy Brain, 'Indentured and Free Indians in the Economy of Colonial Natal', in Guest and Sellers (eds.), Enterprise and Exploitation in a Victorian Colony, pp.198-232 and Brain, 'Natal's Indians, 1860-1910: From Co-operation, Through Competition, To Conflict', in Duminy and Guest (eds.), Natal and Zululand From Earliest Times To 1910: A New History, p.251; Bhana, 'Indian Trade and Trader in Colonial Natal', in Guest and Sellers (eds.), Enterprise and Exploitation in a Victorian Colony, pp.274-53.

<sup>124</sup> Trevor Wills, 'The Segregated City', in Laband & Haswell (eds.), Pietermaritzburg 1838-1988, pp.33-58; Elena Scott, 'Grahamstown', p.144; Davies, 'Growth of Durban', p.40. According to Paul Maylam, 'The Evolution of Urban Apartheid Influx Control and Segregation in Durban, c. 1900-1951', in Guest and Sellers (eds.), Receded Tides of Empire, p.264, the total population of Durban in 1900 only amounted to about 55 700 and in 1921 only to 90 500, of which Africans made up less than one-third.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid., p.19.

In Natal, and later Rhodesia, two concentrations of commercial sectors, Indian and European, evolved.<sup>126</sup> This happened in the Durban context mainly after the arrival of more well-to-do Indians,<sup>127</sup> whose operations were concentrated mainly in the Grey Street area. Their expansion was restricted by the Ordnance Land developed for railway purposes (the later Market Hall, the Telephone Exchange and Fire Station in Pine Street) and by the Racecourse as laid off in 1846,<sup>128</sup> below the White residential area of the Berea suburb. Segregation in land ownership and occupation between Whites and Indians became more marked in the twentieth century. A recent study states:

'The Indian C.B.D. structure appears to represent a modification of a western C.B.D. structure rather than a direct transplant of the socio-economic functions characteristic of the distinctly non-western *chawk* of an indigenous Indian city.'<sup>129</sup>

The Durban Town Council, made up of its biased colonial elite, embarked during 1880 on a policy of redistributing Indians from the congested central town area to new land advertised in the Natal Mercury of 29 July 1880 as 'Indian Village Leases' near 'the New

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<sup>126</sup> Christopher, Southern Africa, p. 158. See also R.J. Davies and D.S. Rajah, 'The Durban C.B.D.: Boundary Delimitation and Racial Dualism' in South African Geographical Journal, 47 (December 1965), pp.45-50.

<sup>127</sup> Brain, 'Natal's Indians, 1860-1910', in Duminy and Guest (eds.), p.258 and Bhana, 'Indian Trade and Trader in Colonial Natal', in *ibid.*, pp.234-57.

<sup>128</sup> Government Surveyor's Office: Diagram Copy 1846.

<sup>129</sup> R.J. Davies and P.S. Rajah, 'The Durban C.B.D: Boundary Delimitation and Racial Dualism', in South African Geographical Journal 45 (December, 1965), p.45. Upon closer examination, certain characteristics typical of the *chawk* are indeed found, such as the range, quality and volume of goods handled by individual undertakings under one roof as implied by the Indian market place (*bazaar*). The first Indian Market Building was nearing completion in 1910. See Durban Mayor's Minutes, 31 July 1911, pp.26-7.





Indian Barracks beyond the Powder Magazine'. The leasehold lots were numbered 1 to 143 and were 334 square metres in extent. They were advertised at an upset rental of 10s. per lot per month and corner lots 20s. per month with a term of lease of ten years. The Durban Town Council was also willing at the same time to take applications from the lessees of the above lots for squatting leases on the adjoining Eastern Vlei lands for market gardens. The governing settler elite hoped to make better use of this area.<sup>130</sup> The Maynard map of 1894 depicts a mosque, which reveals Indian presence across the Umbilo River near South Coast Junction (now known as the Rossborough/Clairwood area).<sup>131</sup> Indian residential patterns here and towards the Umgeni River would seem to be spatially scattered in peripheral lower-lying localities,<sup>132</sup> which were in stark contrast to those of Whites, who in their suburban residential patterns were attracted to the elevated suburban sea-facing slopes of the Berea ridge.<sup>133</sup>

The typical colonial characteristics identifying Durban as an example of a European colonial city, were manifested in the physical and

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<sup>130</sup> The Stree Vaithianatha Easwaran Temple and isolated palm trees in this Stamford Hill area are today tell-tale evidence of an Indian pocket during these years. See Haswell, The Making of Durban's Townscape, p.7.

<sup>131</sup> Natal Archives: 'Map of the Town of Durban and its Environs Colony of Natal 1894' by Frank H. Maynard (Field Street buildings, Durban, 1894). See Figure 3.

<sup>132</sup> Ibid. 'Coolie Huts' next to Quarries in the 'Umgeni Flats' in the area marked 'Springfield'. See P.M. Bendheim with M. Padayachee, 'Clairwood - The South Coast Trading Area', 19 (Report for the Institute for Social and Economic Research, March 1985), pp.3-8.

<sup>133</sup> Davies, 'Growth of Durban', pp.38-9, identified these as four residential sectors of settlement.

## Chapter 5

### The Underlying Value-system

'...cities were laid out by the rulers not the ruled.'<sup>1</sup>

The previous chapter stressed the fact that the physical and spatial arrangements characterizing urban development - indeed, the entire man-made environment in the colonial city of Durban - were the unique products of the ruling British society and culture. The first three chapters identified those who, within a given power system, operated as leaders, being part of a colonial settler elite. This chapter attempts to further an understanding of the built environment by investigating this society's values, beliefs, institutions and social organization, which determined the physical-spatial form of the settlement area.

The dominating sector of colonial Durban society (as explained in earlier chapters) originated in the British parent society, when an influx of approximately 5 000 British settlers arrived in fifty-seven vessels during 1849-1851 at the British Colony of Natal.<sup>2</sup> Many of these settlers flocked to the two main urban centres, Durban and Pietermaritzburg.<sup>3</sup> A Natal government-backed scheme brought out more British settlers towards the end of the 1850s and during the early 1860s.<sup>4</sup> This brought the estimated figure of Natal's Whites to 7 600 in 1852 when the first period of immigration ended. Prior

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<sup>1</sup> King, Colonial Urban Development, p.XII.

<sup>2</sup> Hattersley, The Natal Settlers 1849-1851, p.35; The British Settlement of Natal, p.315.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.; Palmer, Forty Years in Natal, p.5.

<sup>4</sup> Robert James Mann, The Colony of Natal (London: Gerald & Sons, 1959), p.26.



to Indian immigration in 1860 this figure reached 12 000.<sup>5</sup> Durban's colonial white population was estimated to have been 1 135 by 1852 and the African population 900.<sup>6</sup>

The Durban community represented an example of a social system which had been established in an alternative environment. These settlers developed mechanisms to maintain themselves and sustain their way of life.<sup>7</sup> Each carried with him his own 'conceptual models'<sup>8</sup> of his society and culture. Anthony King wrote that such models are fundamentally important in structuring a new social world. This applied whether the settler related to his own new community, to his contact with the indigenous culture, to his patterns of settlement or the means of shelter he provided for himself.<sup>9</sup> The degree to which the core cultural characteristics, which these settlers carried with them, were modified by contact with the indigenous culture and environment was evidenced by the type of social order and new culture which, over time, emerged. An excellent opportunity is provided by the example of Durban for studying a society's colonial expression of the metropolitan culture, as well as fundamental social processes. By social process is meant:

'the operation of the social life, the manner in which the actions and very existence of each living being affect those of other individuals with which it has relations.'<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> NEE 1900, p.3.

<sup>6</sup> Hattersley, The British Settlement of Natal, p.338.

<sup>7</sup> Palmer, Forty Years, pp.3-5; Hattersley, The Natalians, pp.15-16; Robinson, A Life Time in South Africa, p.IX.

<sup>8</sup> King, Colonial Urban Development, p.18.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., pp.13-14.

<sup>10</sup> Firth, Elements of Social Organization, p.2.

Isolating the cultural variable of this transplanted colonial community helps to account for the man-made environment of the colonial city of Durban. By the term community, the space-time component is emphasized - the aspect of living together. This involves a recognition, derived from experience and observation, that there must be minimum conditions for agreement on common aims, and inevitably some shared ways of behaving, thinking and feeling - in other words, an underlying value-system.<sup>11</sup> The approach in Chapter 5 is therefore to explore this value-system, which is to be understood as essentially Western, but specifically culturally 'British', operating within a given distribution of power as explained in Chapter 2. Value-systems influence and transform all forms of human behaviour into a variety of different activities which are clearly manifest in cultural terms, even at the most fundamental level of how members of a society fulfil their common needs: food, shelter, reproduction, socialisation and defence. The modification of their physical environment in the process to obtain these needs, is a process mediated by culture.<sup>12</sup>

After this abstract consideration of a framework of ideas for analysis, some of the operations at work in practice in this type of community in colonial Durban (normally a field of study for the anthropologist), will be studied by investigating the institutional system or 'the grosser units, the more abstract sets of behaviour patterns known as institutions'.<sup>13</sup> Then, it will be shown how each

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid., p.28; Rokeach, Beliefs Attitudes and Values: A Theory of Organization and Change, pp.xii-ix.

<sup>12</sup> Firth, Elements of Social Organization, p.28.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., p.31.

institution is reflected in built form in the physical-spatial environment of the city. The institutional system is to be understood as 'the core of a culture'.<sup>14</sup> An institution comprises 'set forms of activity, groupings, rules, ideas and values.'<sup>15</sup> More particularly, since society consists of a system of institutionalised relations, 'a people's institutions form the matrix of their social structure.'<sup>16</sup> The description of social structure thus consists in the analysis of the institutional system of the population under study. The concept of social structure as an analytical tool is therefore designed to serve us in understanding how men behaved in their social life.<sup>17</sup>

The institutional system of the colonial city of Durban reflected the accepted cultural norms prevailing in the parent metropolitan society. These were the structures which governed the conduct of the people: church, club, library, museum, theatre, park, botanical gardens, race-course and organised sports such as cricket. Leisure time activities, mentioned also in previous chapters, became more structured and formal and also consciously modified the environment.

'It is these value-systems which legitimize the religious, social, economic and political institutions which determine the physical-spatial form of each settlement area.'<sup>18</sup>

In the Durban colonial community, religion was manifested in a formal adherence to denominational Christianity, such as the Roman Catholic,

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<sup>14</sup> King, Colonial Urban Development, p.42.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> Firth, Elements of Social Organization, p.31.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., p.40.

Anglican, Methodist and Baptist churches. The belief in the corporate, community worship, once a week, of one, rather than many, gods gave rise to the construction of churches for each congregation of the Christian denominations. As with other built forms, these reflected the structural and visual characteristics of the metropolitan culture. Of all the numerous British settler churches erected in central Durban during this period, such as the old St Andrew's Presbyterian Church in Commercial Road built in 1890 (presently housing a shoe and clothing store), the Aliwal Street Congregational Church dating back to 1903 (housing an antique store), the century-old Baptist Church in Russell Street (now premises of a silk screen supply business),<sup>19</sup> only St Paul's will be briefly described.

This most visible symbol in the townscape of colonial Durban was designed in 1853 by one of the British settlers, R.S. Upton. The foundation stone was laid on 17 March 1853 and the roof was built by John Hunt. The church was formally opened on 1 April 1855 for community worship.<sup>20</sup> Centrally located in Church Lane in Durban, the church adopted a form closely approximating to models from the metropolitan culture, namely the revived Classical style.<sup>21</sup> St. Paul's was consecrated on St. Peter's Day, 1864. An organ was built in 1880 to accompany choral services as part of the worship. The building was destroyed by fire on 23 March 1906 and replaced by the

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<sup>19</sup> Daily News, 28 January 1992. See also: Jackson, Music in Durban 1850-1900, pp.73-5.

<sup>20</sup> Russell, Old Durban, pp.165-7, 235-6, 249, 340-4.

<sup>21</sup> Kearney, Architecture in Natal. 1824-1893, pp.19-20 describes the building as the earliest example in Natal of this style.

present Church of St Paul's, which dates from 1909.<sup>22</sup>

Beliefs relating to the 'resurrection of the flesh' and 'immortality of the soul' accounted for the custom of burial in this colonial society. Every society has its funeral rites, which provide a channel for the expression of emotions and enforced consideration of the role that the individual had played in the social life of his society. On the whole, the ritual symbolized and reaffirmed some of the values most fundamental in the economic and social life of this community.<sup>23</sup> Burial places in the colonial city of Durban were visibly commemorated, and formed part of a larger community burial place whose ground was sanctified.<sup>24</sup> The more centrally situated cemetery at the West End of Durban, granted to this community by the Natal Government before 1854 as a private burial-place (commonly referred to as the Commercial Road Cemetery), is the best example. The dead of the different denominations in this society were disposed of here in juxtaposition to one another.<sup>25</sup> The cemetery was therefore divided to give the Anglicans four acres, the Methodists two and the Roman Catholics two. Ten and three-quarters acres of Town Lands altogether were granted in 1855 by the ruling body, the Durban Town Council, for this public cemetery.<sup>26</sup> Trustees were appointed on 10 July 1860 and Councillor John Hunt was elected on to

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<sup>22</sup> Jackson, Music in Durban 1850-1900, p. 73; H. Edmund Dawes, Landmarks of Old Durban (Durban: E.P. & Commercial, 1948), pp.25-42.

<sup>23</sup> Firth, Human Types: An Introduction to Social Anthropology, pp.145-6.

<sup>24</sup> King, Colonial Urban Development, p.50.

<sup>25</sup> Bjorvig, 'History of the Durban Town Council, 1854-1879', pp.113-6.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.: Natal Mercury, 25 July 1855, wherein Council was advised to enclose the whole area and this was done.

the Board of Management, with Mayor Alexander Mc Arthur as one of the members 'ex officio'.<sup>27</sup> After application was made to the Trustees to set apart a portion of this cemetery for the burial of the African population and Indians, two acres were allocated in 1865. This was to prevent indiscriminate burial over the Town Lands.<sup>28</sup> The burial of paupers was from 1874 onwards conducted by the Natal Government at its own expense, much to the relief of Mayor Richard Vause.<sup>29</sup> A Law was enacted in 1891 by which the Trustees of the Durban Public Cemetery transferred it to the Durban Town Council. Rules and Regulations were framed by the Town Council to carry out the necessary functions and to meet expenses. A mortuary (which was extended and modernised in 1903), was erected in 1890 and a Cemetery Keeper was appointed in 1891.<sup>30</sup>

In this Victorian Age, with its growing awareness of the dangers incurred when the environment became detrimental to healthy living, the placing of future cemeteries at a distance from town was already being contemplated in 1865.<sup>31</sup> This threat was borne in mind when the new Stellawood Cemetery (ninety-two acres) in Umbilo was opened to all races from 1 June 1905. The General Cemetery was then closed for further burial, except in established family grave sites. New by-laws regulating the use of the new cemetery were approved by the

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<sup>27</sup> Russell, Old Durban, pp.476-7.

<sup>28</sup> Bjorvig, 'History of the Durban Town Council, 1854-1879', pp.113-6.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> Henderson, Fifty Years, p.143.

<sup>31</sup> Bjorvig, 'History of the Durban Town Council, 1854-1879', pp.113-6.



Natal Government. The tramway system was extended some distance to these cemeteries to accommodate mourners. Special funeral cars were also run in order to reduce the cost of interments. An ornate car, imported from England, was reserved for the needs of the privileged section of society, while the car for the indigenous population and Indians was made locally.<sup>32</sup>

In this British society's contact with Indian emigrants in Durban, the world-view of Hinduism, preferring cremation, stood out in contrast to Christian belief in burial. Cremations by Hindus were twice conducted before 1892. The Inspector of Nuisances, W.C. Dougherty, reported with scorn to the Town Council as follows:

'This Oriental and primitive method adopted seems scarcely sufficient for public decency; and this particular caste or sect of Indians might be afforded facilities for the more private performance of their burial rites.'<sup>33</sup>

The act of cremation introduced by the Indians to this White community did, however, prompt social leaders to make further enquiries overseas. Nevertheless, the metropolitan city under the Burial and Public Health Acts made provision only for 'burial', and the colonial settler elite in the Durban Town Council likewise shelved the construction of a crematorium in the colonial period.<sup>34</sup>

Physical representations of persons in the form of 'statues' also had sacred significance, particularly where these represented the head of the metropolitan government, combining, as he or she did, the dual

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<sup>32</sup> Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1905, p.130.

<sup>33</sup> Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1892: Report by Inspector of Nuisances to Durban Town Council, p.69.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., 31 July 1899, pp. 50-3.



roles of 'head of state' and 'defender of the faith' or head of the formal religious system. All such places and objects represented sacred space in the colonial urban settlement.<sup>35</sup> Queen Victoria's statue, the first to be erected, in 1897, in honour of her Diamond Jubilee, in the present Farewell Square (Town Gardens) in Durban,<sup>36</sup> was a clear example. A great milestone in the City's progress was the unveiling of the Victoria Statue on 19 April 1899 by the Governor of Natal, Sir Walter Hely-Hutchinson, a ceremony attended by other dignitaries from the colonial elite. This event received similar recognition to that accorded to the Golden Jubilee of Queen Victoria in 1887, which was commemorated by the turning on of the Jubilee Fountain by Lady Elizabeth Robarts, who was Mayoress. The settler elite considered this as a memorable occasion as it also marked the inauguration of the Umbilo Water Works (near Pinetown - now Paradise Valley). On 22 June 1897, at the height of the Diamond Jubilee festivities, Durban's new electric light installation was switched on from the Town Hall vestibule by Lady Rhoda Payne.<sup>37</sup> John McIntyre, a Durban historian and former Town Clerk of Durban described the event as follows:

'...an inspiring spectacle, the Governor's escort, the local volunteer regiments, the beflagged gaiety, and the bands crashing out the stirring chords of 'God Save the Queen' and its companion anthem of those days, 'God Bless the Prince of Wales'.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> King, Colonial Urban Development, pp.50-1.

<sup>36</sup> Daily News, 24 September 1955: John McIntyre, 'Know Your Durban'. Two bronze plaques, which are now on the base of the Queen Victoria Statue in the present Town Gardens, were originally part of the Jubilee Fountain, a cast-iron structure, which has since corroded, erected for her first Golden Jubilee celebration in 1887.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

The Botanic Society erected, about the same time, the Queen Victoria Jubilee Palmhouse in the Botanic Gardens in Her Majesty's honour. The lily pond near the Palm House was also built. Here the giant water-lily of the Amazon, the Victoria Regia, was successfully grown and flowered for the first time in 1901.<sup>39</sup>

Sir John Robinson, who as a representative leader of Durban County in the Natal Parliament was counted among the Durban and Natal colonial elite, recalled and recorded the Golden Jubilee as the most memorable occasion of his life. He, on 5 May 1887, together with all the other delegates at the Colonial Conference of that year, was received by Her Majesty at Windsor. On this occasion he placed in her hands a casket which contained the address of congratulation from the town of Durban on the attainment of her Golden Jubilee. Robinson described the circumstances of the reception as follows:

"...a stately yet simple ceremony, its gracious cordiality, its restriction to the delegates themselves, above all, the pathos and dignity that invested the central figure - were in harmony with one's expectations and with the occasion. The calm and quiet which pervaded the Castle and its precincts well befitted the august position of its mistress, "Queen of innumerable realms", to whom "The envoys of her Empire" thus bore the collective and the individual tributes of their love and homage."<sup>40</sup>

That consciousness of the Empire, of which England was the centre, became a crutch in the wild and savage land which still had

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<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

<sup>40</sup> Robinson, A Life Time in South Africa, pp.XXXVIII-IX.

to be civilized, was well expressed in the words of Robinson:

'It was the realisation of long hopes and dreams, cherished in remote South Africa, amidst wild colonial conditions and naked savage races, to whom the Great White Queen, though far off and unseen, was yet a presence and a power.'<sup>41</sup>

Ellis J. Brown's election as Mayor of Durban on 9 August 1902 coincided with the end of the Anglo-Boer War in South Africa and the day of the Coronation of King Edward VII. It fell to Ellis Brown to preside over the Coronation festivities, initiated by his predecessor, E.L. Acutt. Albert Park was turned into an Old English Country Fair, and there were fireworks on the Bay.<sup>42</sup> This identification with the British Empire lit up the hearts of British emigrants and made them forget their own sufferings. Their genuine affiliation to the British Crown and 'Home' manifested itself in celebrations, entertainments and recreation in true British fashion in their attempt to create a home from home in the strange continent of Africa. Even the Queen's less significant birthdays were celebrated each year. George Russell, a contemporary urban historian, recorded the first such celebration in 1850, as follows:

'We were intensely British and loyal. Her Majesty's birthday was not only marked by the usual parade of troops in garrison at the Camp, about two companies of the 45th Regiment, with a detachment of Royal Artillery and Sappers and Miners, a salute being fired at noon, at which the loose population of Durban was present, but the loyal inhabitants made it the occasion of a proper jollification and free show in the evening by an excellent display of locally made fireworks...'<sup>43</sup>

Durban's first Regatta was held in 1858<sup>44</sup> on another such

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<sup>41</sup> Ibid., p.IX.

<sup>42</sup> Henderson, Fifty Years, p.201.

<sup>43</sup> Russell, Old Durban, pp. 129-30.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., pp.370-1.

occasion. Her sixty-first birthday on 24 May 1880, was declared a public holiday in Durban and Sunday School treats were planned for the children. The Natal Mercury, 26 and 27 May 1880, described it as follows:

'It would have done the heart of Her Most Gracious Majesty herself good if the royal eyes could have seen in what manner the children of Durban celebrated the anniversary of her natal day. Favoured by unmistakeable "Queen's weather", our rising generation mustered in great force, and marshalled under their respective Sunday School teachers, betook themselves to different rendezvous in the country, and there made merry for the day.'<sup>45</sup>

The central streets of Durban wore a holiday appearance and the railway station was a common centre of attraction, from where 'heavily laden trains were to emerge all the forenoon.' The great event of the day was doubtless 'the united visit of the children of the Sunday schools connected with the Wesleyan, Congregational, and Presbyterian Churches', to Merebank, put mainly under charge of Mayors William Palmer and E. Pickering.<sup>46</sup> The Point, as well as all the approaches to it, were 'gaily decorated with bunting for the occasion...'. Boat races and swimming competitions were the order of the day and even the 'police were conspicuous by their absence' during the whole celebration.<sup>47</sup>

His Royal Highness, Prince Alfred (Queen Victoria's second son), entered Durban from the Berea early in September 1860 under a 'Sylvan arch' inscribed 'Welcome Royal Tar'.<sup>48</sup> Mayor Alexander McArthur and Councillors welcomed the Prince, and were respectively

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<sup>45</sup> Natal Mercury, 26 and 27 May 1880: Queen's Birthday.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>48</sup> Russell, Old Durban, p.485.

rewarded with a handshake'. The Mayor then led the procession into Grey and West Streets, where the 'acclamations of a people proud of their Britishism greeted him on every side.'<sup>49</sup> At Field Street crossing, a fine four-sided arch was erected, covered with coloured cloth and festooned with evergreens. 'Welcome Prince Alfred' and 'God Save the Queen,' were the prominent mottoes.<sup>50</sup>

Allegiance to the British Crown persisted with the amalgamation of all four colonies in the Union of 1910, when South Africa took its place among all the other British Commonwealth states. British influence was nowhere more acutely felt than in Natal, mainly in Durban and Pietermaritzburg, where the strong pull of the mother country still held a large number of its brethren united.<sup>51</sup>

Separation from the parent society thus strengthened commitment to it, almost in the same way that separation from kin can strengthen the ties between individuals.

Public recognition was given to colonial leaders and heads of the Natal Government, for example, Sir John Robinson and Harry Escombe, by representation in sacred space in Farewell Square. This illustrates how a physical and social environment was created as a result of the underlying values of the British settler community. Durban provided opportunities for strengthening their cultural identity and for its inhabitants to participate in familiar community roles.

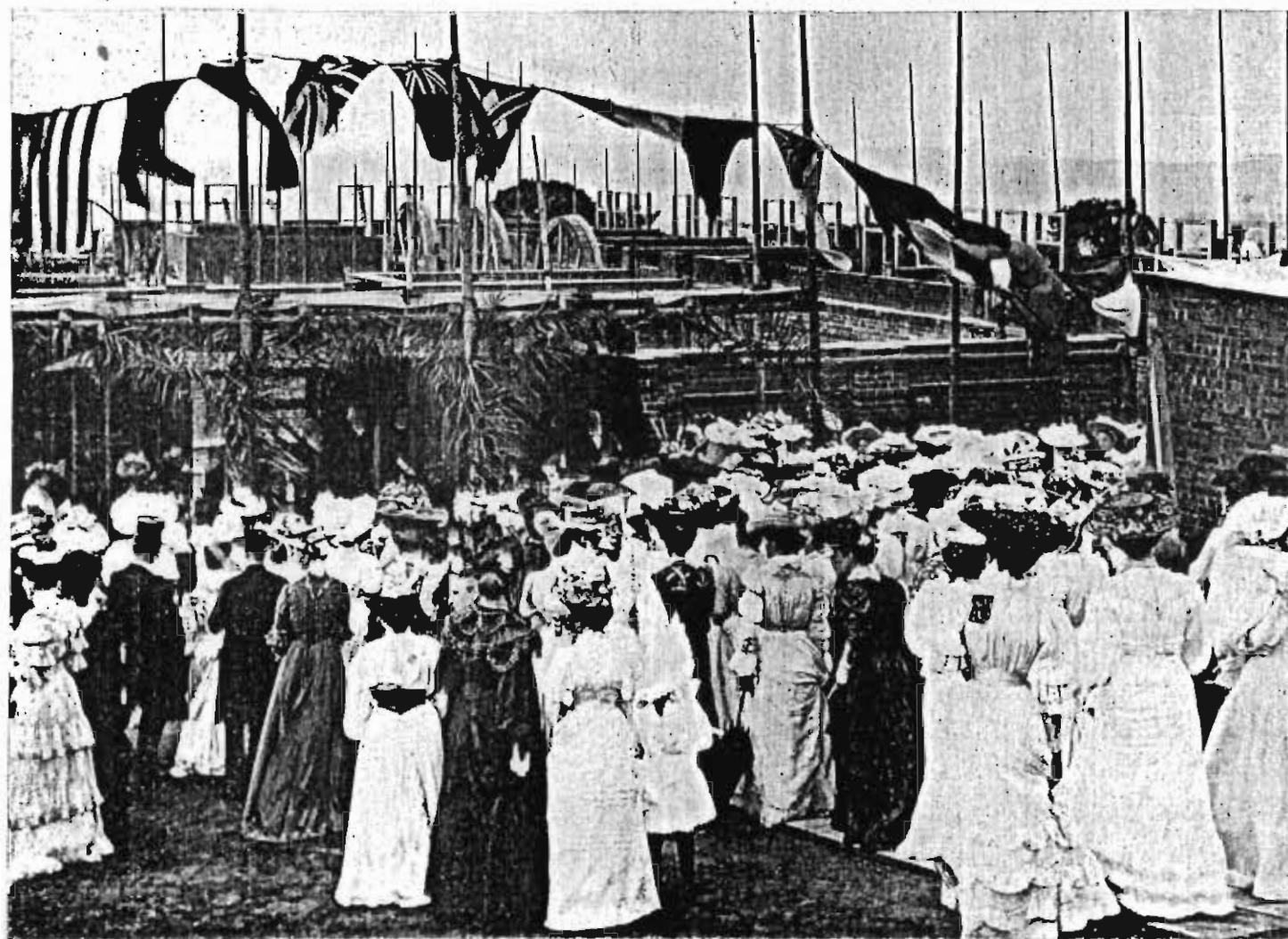
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<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

<sup>51</sup> According to P.S. Thompson, Natalians First: Separatism in South Africa 1909-1961 (Johannesburg: Southern Book Publishers, 1990), pp.VII-IX, this separatism found 'simplest expression when Afrikaner Nationalism was in power in South Africa', between the





DURBAN LADIES' COLLEGE NEW BUILDINGS, MUSGRAVE ROAD.  
Laying of Foundation Stone by Sir Benjamin Greenacre, December 7th.

Photo by W. D. I

Training institutions and schools fashioned after metropolitan models were provided for the children of this colonial community. The Government School Room at the corner of Field and Smith Streets was erected in 1850 and was originally reserved for the elementary instruction of the young.<sup>52</sup> The first public examination was held here on 20 December 1859 and A.W. Evans presented the prizes.<sup>53</sup> The annual examination took place on 18 and 19 June 1860, when 170 scholars were examined in reading, writing, history, grammar and geography.<sup>54</sup> Numerous other government schools were also founded, for example, the Girls' Model School and the Boys' Model School (the latter a forerunner to the Durban High School, better known as DHS), already formed in 1866<sup>55</sup> and the Berea High School for Girls in the 1880s. Private tuition was also conducted at home. During the 1870s several private schools were started in Durban. The Convent of the Holy Family, sometimes referred to as St Joseph's School or simply the Convent, was founded in 1875, and the Durban Young Ladies' Collegiate Institution, currently known as Durban Girls' College, in 1877.<sup>56</sup> Benjamin Greenacre was Chairman of the Institution's committee and also donated the land on which the school presently stands.<sup>57</sup> The Durban Town Council from time to time made free gifts of valuable sites for educational purposes and contributed

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<sup>52</sup> Russell, Old Durban, pp.234-5.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., p.436.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., p.462.

<sup>55</sup> George S. Jackson, Music in Durban 1850-1900 (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1970), pp.106-8; Jennings, H.D., The DHS Story 1866-1966 (Durban: DHS, 1966), pp.1-10.

<sup>56</sup> Jackson, Music in Durban 1850-1900, p.104.

<sup>57</sup> Daily News, 30 July 1984.



liberally to the establishment of the much-needed new Durban High School. It was fitting that the laying of the foundation stone on 3 July 1894 was attended by Mayor George Payne and other dignitaries.<sup>58</sup> The establishment of a Technical Institute in 1907 was jointly supported by the Government and the Town Council.<sup>59</sup>

Economic institutions were physically expressed in built form as banks, building societies, the offices of 'insurance agents', market houses and shops specialising in 'European' goods. The Natal Bank, originating in Pietermaritzburg, for example, was in 1854 the first banking institution to open a branch in Durban. The Natal Fire Assurance and Trust Company were both shareholders and promised depositors.<sup>60</sup> The building that housed this company was designed by one of the colonists, Joseph Cato, related to Mayor G.C. Cato, who used an alternative facade design derived from the use of large windows. These left little wall surface, leading eventually to a concentration of ornament around door and window opening.<sup>61</sup> Glass arrived from England in the colony only in April 1853<sup>62</sup> and was after this extensively used by this British community for large windows. Although the Market Square was originally used for holding daily markets in 1858,<sup>63</sup> the Durban Town Council felt that a market properly housed would operate more successfully. The first Market

<sup>58</sup> Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1894, pp.1-5.

<sup>59</sup> Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1907, pp.8-12.

<sup>60</sup> Russell, Old Durban, pp.188-90.

<sup>61</sup> Kearney, Architecture in Natal, p.28.

<sup>62</sup> Eliza Feilden, My African Home (Durban: Greigors, 1973), p.25, expressed delight when glass arrived in the colony at this date 'as the calico windows darkened the spaces and began to show signs of wear.'

<sup>63</sup> Natal Mercury, 28 January 1858: Notice of Daily Market.

House was put to use in 1876 and only replaced in 1901 by the new Market House equipped with a large Market Hall and storage facilities.<sup>44</sup> An Eating House for Africans was erected in Queen Street in 1906 (initiated by R. Jameson) and a spacious Indian Market in Victoria Street in 1910. An Overseer at the Eating House and a Market Superintendent at the Indian Market were appointed, since it was intended by the ruling elite to conduct these markets purely as municipal undertakings.<sup>45</sup> Two other well organised local economic institutions formed by the colonial elite (already mentioned in Chapters 3 and 4), were the Natal Chamber of Commerce created on 19 August 1856 and the Natal Manufacturers' Association. The names of A. McArthur (Vice Chairman) and R. Vause were recorded as Directors of the former in the Natal Almanac, Directory and Yearly Register of 1865 and William Arbuckle junior's name was recorded in 1880,<sup>46</sup> whereas five Mayors (A.W. Evans, Richard Vause, B.W. Greenacre, J.W. Stranack and George Payne) besides being Directors, also served as Chairmen.<sup>47</sup> Under Natal Law 31 of 1884 the name was changed to Durban Chamber of Commerce. The Natal Manufacturers' Association was formed on 11 October 1905. It changed its name to the Natal Chamber of Industries in 1924.<sup>48</sup> Both these institutions voiced the needs

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<sup>44</sup> Bjorvig, *The History of the Durban Town Council, 1854-1879*, pp.76-8. Certain portions of the Market Square were leased by the Durban Town Council to Auctioneers and others.

<sup>45</sup> Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1907, pp.5-10; *ibid.*, 1911, pp.26-7.

<sup>46</sup> Natal Almanac, Directory and Yearly Register, 1865: Commercial Directory, p.60; *ibid.*, 1880: Durban Institutions, p.246.

<sup>47</sup> McIntyre, 'From Settlement to City: a Story of Civic Progress and Development', in MacMillan (ed.), Past and Present, pp.163-4.

<sup>48</sup> Daily News: Supplement: 100 Years of the Daily News 1878-1978, 5 January 1978; Russell, Old Durban, pp.284-5.

of the influential business sector of Durban and became a strong factor in determining colonial legislation. In this economic system money gave a universal measure of values, served as a convenient medium of exchange through which buying or selling of almost anything could take place, and also provided a standard by which payments at one time could be expressed as commitments for the future. In a wider sense it allowed for the measurement of services against things, and promoted the flow of economic activities.<sup>69</sup> Although British currency and the British standard for assizing and necessary equipment were put to use by the Durban Town Council in the 1850s, they only became official in 1872.<sup>70</sup>

Other physical-spatial urban forms produced by this community in the Durban environment were their dwellings. More expensive houses belonging to the colonial elite, such as, for example, Hugh Gillespie's mansion, were built of locally made brick; cheaper houses of corrugated iron or tiles. Verandas on some houses were tiled with imported ceramic tiles. Houses were fairly large, mostly with verandas, and without bathrooms. Portable baths and basins were moved into individual bedrooms for washing. Kitchens were either detached or at the far end of the house to offset the risk of fire.<sup>71</sup> The late 1870s were busy years for Durban homeowners. There was a craze for home improvement, with people building verandas on to the fronts of houses, and there was a big demand to convert land from leasehold to freehold, initiated by the Durban Town Council under the leadership of Mayor William Arbuckle. Sales of freehold

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<sup>69</sup> Firth, Elements of Social Organization, p.70.

<sup>70</sup> Bjorvig, 'History of the Durban Town Council, 1854-1879', pp.78-80.

<sup>71</sup> Daily News: Property Supplement, 6 January 1978.

land were booming, with £9 062 realised in 1877 and another £6 068 in 1878.<sup>72</sup> By 1861 thatched roofs were already prohibited in central Durban. Houses roofed with iron, presumably stood in Durban as early as 1849.<sup>73</sup> Building regulation no.77 of 1881 stated that 'no dwelling house shall be erected within the town on any plot of land less in measurement than 3 500 square feet.'<sup>74</sup> A further important regulation was passed by the ruling elite in 1885 to ensure an even higher standard of architecture in the city centre. Buildings of timber and iron could not be created within certain limits of the town, unless by special consent of the Council, and then only when not intended for dwelling houses.<sup>75</sup> The value-system of this dominating section of the society was highlighted by their civic pride in keeping certain standards in the built environment of the colonial city. Mayor E.W. Greenacre pointed out in 1892 as follows:

'The necessity for better building regulations has been acknowledged since the Council approved during the year of a code of new and extensive regulations extracted from the model by-laws of the English Local Government Board.'<sup>76</sup>

Greenacre further added that such a code of building regulations was in force in nearly every rural district in England.<sup>77</sup> New building by-laws were finally approved of during 1894 and put into operation.<sup>78</sup> However, many small wood and iron houses were still in

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<sup>72</sup> Ibid.

<sup>73</sup> Kearney, Architecture in Natal, pp.12-13, 19.

<sup>74</sup> Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1881, pp. 40-5.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., 31 July 1885, pp.4-5; *ibid.*, 1892, p.35; *ibid.*, 1895, pp.6-7, 9-10.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid., 31 July 1892, p.35.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid.

<sup>78</sup> Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1895, pp.6-7, 9-10.

existence in early Durban and were heavily criticized by the Medical Officer in 1898. Poor ventilation and the fostering of various diseases were among the main criticisms. These houses were condemned as unfit for human habitation. Suggestions were made by him to the Town Council for improved building regulations and certain amended building by-laws were passed in 1900.<sup>79</sup> Building by-laws gazetted on 1 December 1903 and proclaimed as no.134, 1903, required an open space at the front of new buildings with or without sewerage; an open space at the rear of new dwellings without sewerage as well as with sewerage; the width of new streets to be forty feet at least; laid down the minimum size of land on which a new dwelling might be erected; and insisted that a plan be submitted to the Durban Municipality prior to building or selling the immovable property. Any person contravening this law was to pay a penalty of £10 with a further penalty of twenty shillings per day imposed for postponement of abiding by such ruling.<sup>80</sup> By 1905 it was proudly recorded by civic leaders in this community that the homes of Whites and Indians were of more solid construction, the cheaper wood and iron buildings having steadily fallen in public estimation.<sup>81</sup> It was found that, of a total of 431 new European houses, ninety-five per cent were of brick, as against eighty-six per cent of the previous year. Of these brick houses forty-three per cent were of two storeys as against twenty-two per cent in 1904. The houses of the Indian population showed a similar improvement, seeing that of a total of forty-one new buildings, ninety-two per cent were of brick. The Mayor further

<sup>79</sup> Ibid., 31 July 1898: Attached Medical Officer's Report, p.47. See NBS, vol.LII, no.64, 4 September 1900, p.858: Proclamation.

<sup>80</sup> Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1904, pp. 40-6.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid., 31 July 1905, pp.86-116.



\ funeral procession.

The guttering of the pavements is here very noticeable with the road on a higher level.

Photo. (Copyright: Local History Museum).



reported that houses, as usual, formed the bulk of the buildings erected and that year accounted for seventy-three per cent of the total. Of the total offices, stores, etc. eighty-five per cent were of brick.<sup>82</sup> In 1889 the numbering of streets or roads for house to house delivery of letters was commenced by the Council with many useful suggestions made by Edward Pickering. Occupants were requested 'to have their number exposed, so as to cause as little delay as possible to the postman.'<sup>83</sup>

Street improvements with road hardening as a form of maintenance had already been started in the central streets of Durban in 1857. Berea Road, favouring trade interests as it formed the main artery of communication between the port and interior of the colony, was the first road to be effectively hardened between 1863 and 1866 by the Town Council. Mayor William Hartley, being a leading merchant, naturally promoted the hardening of this road from the boundary line of the Town Estate to the entrance of West Street, the most commercial street of Durban. This macadamized<sup>84</sup> road acted as a gateway from the interior into Durban and became one of the first major conspicuous achievements of the Town Council's public works programme with much more street hardening to follow. At the same time Berea Road also boasted the first toll house of pitch pine and

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<sup>82</sup> Ibid.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid., 31 July 1889, pp.2-3.

<sup>84</sup> John McAdam in England devised an inexpensive self-sealing pavement consisting of small stones, chips or gravel that could be applied directly to the soil or subsoil of a properly drained roadbed. As a result of the economy of this method of road construction, it was widely copied and such water-impervious roads today are still called 'macadamized' even when the chips or stones are mixed or covered with oil or a bituminous substance like tar or asphalt.



toll bar erected in Durban.<sup>85</sup> In their efforts to speed up street paving, the Town Council in 1910 purchased a steam roller engine and stone crusher, as well as three stone trucks to convey roadmaking material.<sup>86</sup> Watering carts were also constantly in use to keep down the dust in the central streets of Durban. By 1910 the Council owned eight machine water carts, three box water carts and nine tank water carts.<sup>87</sup>

Another major visible achievement of the Town Council in street improvement was the opening of the completed Victoria Embankment in 1902.<sup>88</sup> After the Durban Bay Embankment Act of 1895, motivated by the Durban Borough Engineer, J.F. Fletcher, came into force, the Town Council was empowered to build a retaining sea-wall to a height of not less than two feet above highwater mark (within the marked boundary line), skirting Durban Bay Edge. This brief included filling up the area on the landward side of the wall with sand removed from the Bay; to construct a wharf and to make by-laws to regulate the use of the Embankment.<sup>89</sup> Fletcher started this

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<sup>85</sup> Bjorvig, 'History of the Durban Town Council, 1854-1879', p.51.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid., 31 July 1910, p.64.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid., p.86.

<sup>88</sup> This area, better known as Admiralty Reserve (a strip of land bordering Durban Bay), stretching from the Back Beach (Addington) to the Umbilo River, and kept as a reserve for the Crown for military purposes, was by mutual consent between the Natal Government and Durban Town Council provisionally transferred by the Natal Government to the Durban Town Council in 1895. See R.L. Hitchins and G.W. Sweeney, Laws, By-laws and Regulations of the Borough of Durban (Durban: P.Davis, 1898), especially Law no.42 1888, Law no.26, 1895, Law no.26, 1896, pp.157-64.

<sup>89</sup> Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1895, p.4; *ibid.*, 1896, p.6; *ibid.*, 1897, pp.30-8.

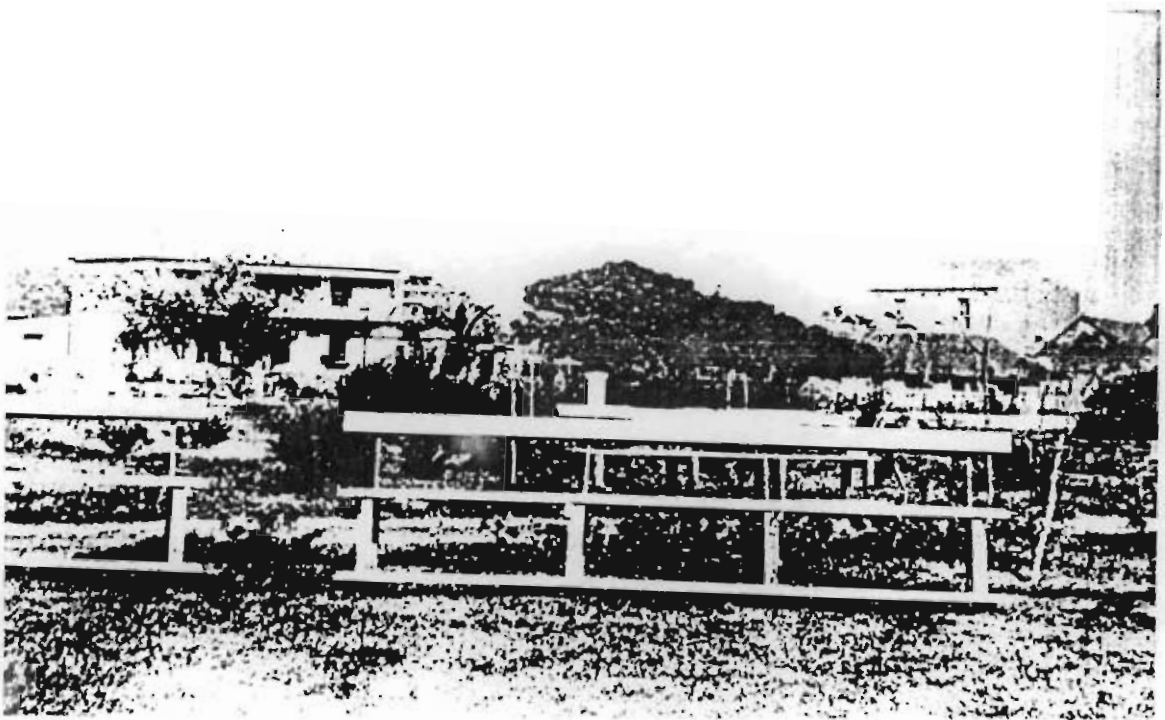
Embankment in 1896. On completion in 1902, at a cost of £83 000, it became known as 'Victoria Embankment'. The cement retaining wall was surmounted by an ornamental iron railing, an esplanade with an eighteen foot asphalt promenade and an adjacent eighteen foot carriage drive, a row of palm trees and a forty-eight foot macadamised road with a side-walk on the landward side. This embankment was yet another visible achievement of the governing elite headed by Mayor Ernest Leslie Acutt.<sup>90</sup> The scenic promenade for pedestrians (stretching over a mile and a quarter), became early Durban's main recreation spot before the commencement of the Ocean Beach Developments.

Some of the major hotels, for example, the 'London', reproduced in name, if not the reality, the image of the metropolitan models on which they were based. Along Point Road, close to Fort Natal harbour, the Criterion and Alexandra Hotels and Seafarers' Club also catered for shipping associates. The Royal Hotel, renamed after the visit in 1860 of Prince Alfred (second son of Queen Victoria), was originally, as was the case with all dwellings erected by British settlers in the 1840s and 1850s, a thatched wattle and daub dwelling, whitewashed.<sup>91</sup> The hotel was previously known as McDonald's, after its owner, the old Captain Hugh McDonald. On his death, his widow carried on the hotel business opposite the Market Square, though with

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<sup>90</sup> Ibid., 31 July 1902, pp.10, 35. See *ibid.*, 1903, pp.10, 90; *ibid.*, 1904, pp.5-6. Negotiations for the transfer of the Bay Reserve Lands back to the Natal Government in 1903, was concluded in an agreement reached on 22 March 1904.

<sup>91</sup> Russell, *Old Durban*, pp.69, 91-2; Kearney, *Architecture in Natal*, pp.12-15. 'This form of construction, which is based on the age-old half-timber construction of Northern Europe, consisted of a framework of wattles woven across it. The exterior was plastered with clay or a mixture of mud and dung. In some cases the exterior was also plastered.'



The Town Gardens and the Royal Hotel beyond them on the far right in 1870. They were laid out as an ornamental garden and fenced in between 1860 and 1861.

Photo. (Copyright: Local History Museum).

indifferent success. She disposed of it in March 1856 to Thomas Galloway, who, as the new owner, made no alteration to its name.<sup>92</sup> Early in March 1857, George Winder advertised that he had taken over McDonald's 'Family and Commercial Hotel', the arrangement with Galloway having apparently fallen through. In December he announced that he had re-named it the 'Masonic Hotel.' Various private meetings of Freemasons, which would have included a known member of the settler elite, John Hunt, had been called at 'Brother Winder's Hotel', where they decided upon forming a Lodge and holding their meetings in the new dining-room offered by Winder for that purpose. On 10 March 1859, William Wood announced that he had taken over the Hotel and business from Winder, who was to proceed to England. The hotel was by then recorded as 'Wood's Masonic Hotel',<sup>93</sup> prior to becoming known as the Royal Hotel after 1860.<sup>94</sup>

Membership of prestigious clubs, such as the Durban Club, was mainly patronised by the colonial elite who enjoyed extra leisure hours, money and status. Its forerunner was the 'Durban Quoits Club' founded in June 1852 in Durban. This wattle and daub thatched dwelling became the centre of activity for the leading merchants and the officers at the military Camp who became members.<sup>95</sup> The same Club was absorbed into the Durban Club, when in 1854 a group of gentlemen officially formed the Durban Club 'for the purpose of playing at

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<sup>92</sup> Russell, Old Durban, pp.291-2.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid., pp.336. 408. See Local History Museum: File 572133: 581 H: 'John Hunt'.

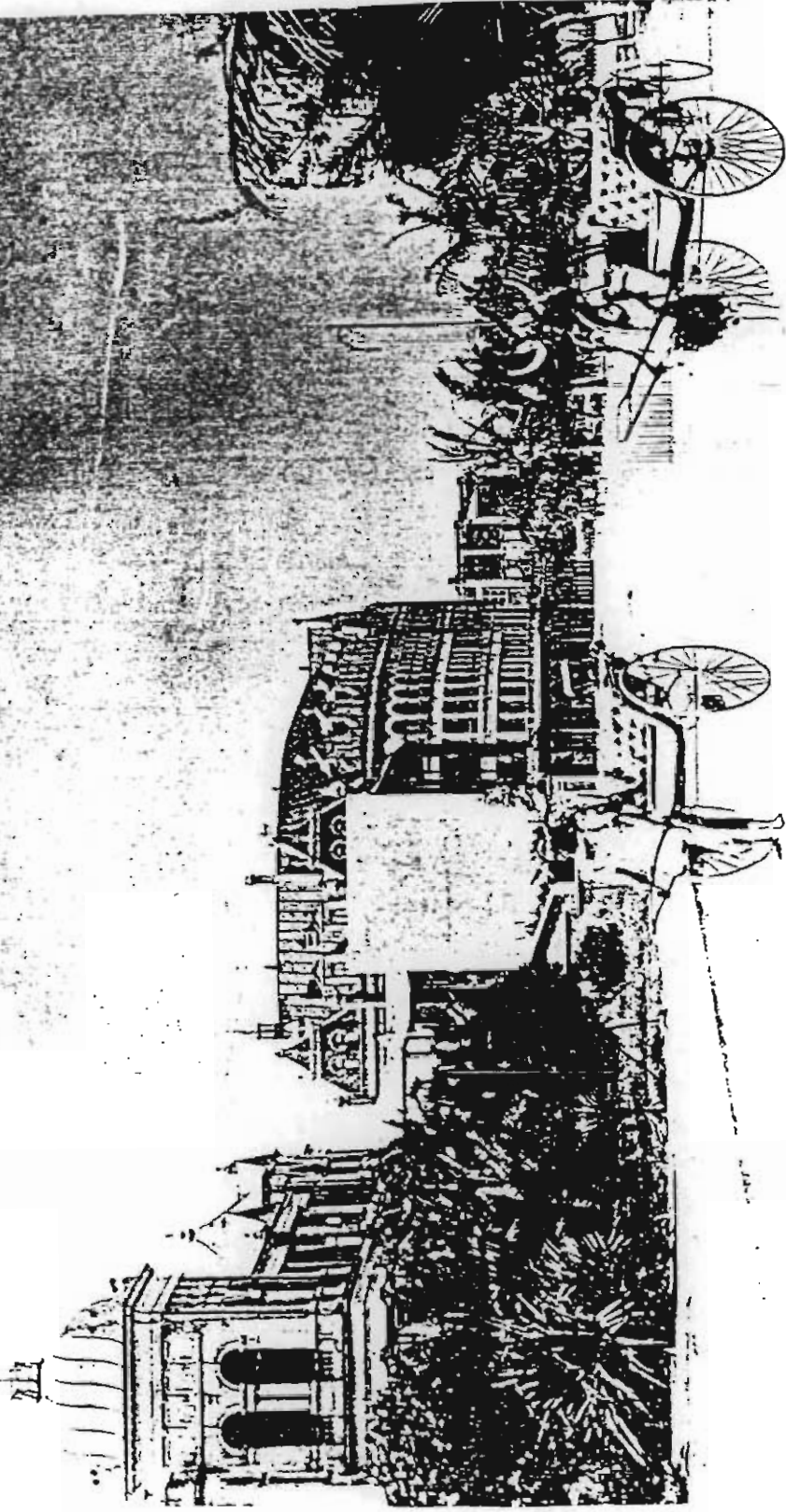
<sup>94</sup> Ibid., pp.477-8.

<sup>95</sup> Russell, Old Durban, pp.252-5; John McIntyre, History of the Durban Club (Durban: Robertson, 1959), pp.1-10; Daphne Strutt, The Story of the Durban Club (Cape Town: Timmins, 1963), pp.11-12.



Bay Esplanade, showing Durban Club and Marine Hotel - Durban:

(circa 1910)



copyright: Natal Archives

Billiards, Chess and as a Reading and News Room....', and obtained a suitable piece of ground for the club-house.<sup>96</sup> This first club-house progressed from wattle and daub to a wooden building about 30 feet by 20 feet, but still with a thatched roof, and was opened on 29th June 1855 in Smith Street (part of Erf no. 6. Block H where Norwich Union House presently stands).<sup>97</sup> In 1860 the Durban Club was re-organized and modelled on the Victoria Club in Pietermaritzburg by members of the original institution. The new two-storeyed Club House, which was a more permanent structure, was erected in 1863 in Smith Street.<sup>98</sup> Richard Vause was recorded in 1865 as a Committee member and in 1880<sup>99</sup> as Chairman of the Durban Club Building Committee, as well as in 1885 as Chairman of the Durban Club.<sup>100</sup> The present Durban Club building on the Bayside was completed in 1904 and was proudly described at the opening by Mayor J. Ellis Brown as 'One of the town's most exquisite buildings.'<sup>101</sup> For the whole colonial period, the 'club' was not open to Africans, Indians or women.

Those members of the colonial society, such as non-commissioned officers and 'other ranks' in the army and clerks, whose occupational or socio-economic status did not entitle them to associate on equal

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<sup>96</sup> Strutt, The Story of the Durban Club, pp.14-16.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid., p.31.

<sup>99</sup> Natal Almanac, Directory and Yearly Register, 1865: Commercial Directory, p.60; *ibid.*, 1880: Durban Institutions, p.245.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, 1885: Durban Institutions, p.340.

<sup>101</sup> Durban Mayor's Minutes, 31 July 1904, p.5.

terms with 'club members', had their own forms of association, each with its own venue and codes of conduct. For instance, the rules of the Masonic Lodge, the library, the tennis club and the theatre, required that they adhere to the norms of behaviour governing the use of such places. In the colonial community, recreational patterns were those generally associated with an urban industrial society. In such a society, of which colonial Durban is an example, time divisions were more structured. Consequently, recreational activities became more formal and specialised - an institutionalized 'leisure'. They demanded not only more specialised equipment but also specialised buildings and spatial areas in which activities could take place. Thus, dramatic activity and musical performances required a theatre; organized forms of sport such as football and cricket required specially maintained pitches; tennis, badminton and squash rackets required purpose-built courts. Special tracks, and stadia which catered for spectators, as well as other facilities, were constructed for horse-racing and polo.<sup>102</sup>

Provision for such recreational needs, therefore, demanded extensive modification of the Durban environment. Horse-racing required the construction of a suitably even plain. In 1852, two years before Durban became a borough, a special even course was marked out between Umgeni Road and a swamp at the foot of the Berea for Horse racing. The first meeting was fixed for 14 and 15 January 1852. A Grand Stand had been erected by McDonald of the Hotel.<sup>103</sup> This first meeting was voted such a success that another was promoted on

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<sup>102</sup> King, Colonial Urban Development, p.56.

<sup>103</sup> Russell, Old Durban, pp.142-5.



6 August - historically the first of Durban's famous winter meetings. Racing of the same amateur class was continued at irregular intervals.<sup>104</sup> There was also for some years some successful hurdle racing. Urban transportation was organized by the governing elite to meet recreational needs (discussed in Chapter 7). Durban saw its first 'race specials' in 1867. This was when trains on the Point-Umgeni line took race-goers from the Market Square to a point near this Greyville racecourse. A syndicate was formed to build a more suitable Grand Stand. The site was acquired on lease from the governing body, the Durban Town Council. As the sport became more formal, the Durban Sporting Club was formed, followed by the Durban Turf Club, racing under Jockey Club rules. This ultimately absorbed the Sporting Club. The Durban Turf Club was reconstituted in 1897, with W.G. Brown as the first Chairman (1897-98.)<sup>105</sup> On the afternoon of 17 July 1897 a small field of seven horses took part in a race called the Durban Turf Club Handicap, which carried a stake of 500 sovereigns. The Durban Turf Club Handicap, later became the July Handicap, which helped horseracing to become an integral part of life in Durban.<sup>106</sup>

These British settlers did not declare cultural independence from Europe. On the contrary, they considered their city progressing to the extent that they could furnish the kind of theatre, sport, art and high society to be found elsewhere in the world. There was a certain amount of pride involved in this cultural refinement and a

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<sup>104</sup> Ibid.

<sup>105</sup> Natal Mercury, May, 1954: Series: 'Pioneers of Durban'.

<sup>106</sup> Daily News: Supplement, 5 January 1978.

feeling that Durban could not become a real city until it had a permanent theatre and other cultural institutions. The new Masonic Hall which opened in Gardiner Street in September 1861, was used as a premier hall for indoor-concerts, quadrille parties, and the first serious attempts at drama in Durban. From 1864 it was used as a County Hall and was in effect the first Town Hall.<sup>107</sup> It was superseded in 1866 by the Field Street Hall, where the first choral concerts took place. This hall was again superseded in 1869 by the Trafalgar Hall, which became the Trafalgar Theatre in 1876 after alterations and which was in Pine Street (Terrace - more or less on the Daily News site acquired by the Argus Company in 1954). The name of B.W. Greenacre was recorded as President of the Durban Philharmonic Society in 1880 in the Natal Almanac, Directory and Yearly Register.<sup>108</sup>

Durban's second theatre, the Theatre Royal, stood at the West End corner of West Street and Berea Road and was opened on 7 November 1892 during Edward Fickering's Mayoralty.<sup>109</sup> Jackson also mentioned another theatre at the East End in West Street, called 'His Majesty's', which had evolved through several stages from the original Oddfellow's Hall and became Thornton's Bioscope in the first decade of the twentieth century.<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>107</sup> Jackson, Music in Durban, pp.1-17.

<sup>108</sup> Natal Almanac, Directory and Yearly Register, 1880: Durban Institutions, p.342.

<sup>109</sup> Jackson, Music in Durban, pp.1-17; Edmund Dawes, Landmarks of Old Durban, pp.45-65.

<sup>110</sup> Jackson, Music in Durban, p.123.

Entertainment was not solely confined to the centre of Durban. As people moved into the suburbs, a start was made there as well with this kind of serious cultural activity. The first example was when the Berea Society was started in June 1880, holding their Popular Concerts in 1880, 1881 and 1882. These were held at first in the Berea Congregational Church (corner of Berea and Musgrave Roads) and in 1883 in the Berea Hall, built in 1883 (where St. Thomas's Church in Musgrave Road stands today).<sup>111</sup> On warmer days in sub-tropical Durban, the 'band-stand' provided the venue for additional entertainment in the southern part of the original Market Square, where the governing settler elite in 1862 decided to lay out an ornamental garden, which became known as the Town Gardens (of which Farewell Square is now a part).<sup>112</sup> Durban military bands first saw the light during this colonial period, probably inspired by British bands. Two volunteer bands need mentioning which, during the last two decades of the 19th century, grew into permanent institutions. They were the Band of the Natal Mounted Rifles, formed in 1886 (which became the Durban Mounted Rifles) and the Band of the Natal Royal Rifles formed in 1889 (which became the Durban Light Infantry after 1895). These bands entertained the public in the Town Gardens and received a subsidy from the Durban Town Council.<sup>113</sup> The Police Band joined their ranks so that in the early twentieth century there were three military bands which offered free open-air concerts. Most of the band concerts were now held at the beach front, where the band-stand from the Town Gardens was re-erected in 1904.<sup>114</sup> Members

<sup>111</sup> Natal Advertiser, 11 June 1880; 6 April 1883; Jackson, Music in Durban, p.67.

<sup>112</sup> Bjorvig, 'History of the Durban Town Council, 1854-1879', p.76.

<sup>113</sup> Jackson, Music in Durban, pp.95-100.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid., pp.123-7.

of these bands came mostly from the Old Fort<sup>115</sup> in Durban, which was occupied from 1842 to 1897 by various regiments and detachments of the British Army. In 1908 the British War Office leased it to the Durban Light Infantry and in due course this lease was continued by the Union Defence Department.<sup>116</sup> The Old Fort Chapel, built originally as a magazine in 1858, formed part of the Old Fort complex and was converted to a chapel in 1926.<sup>117</sup>

Many of the colonial elite who served in the successive municipal councils regarded the beautification of the urban environment of Durban as part of their civic responsibilities in this city-building process. These men were inspired by Victorian cities in England like Leeds, Birmingham and Manchester, which with their impressive Town Halls and public buildings stood out as models of nineteenth century civic pride in achievement. These administrative structures generated among bourgeois a shared sense of dignity, growth and pride in their towns and the administration of them.<sup>118</sup> which in turn found its colonial expression in Durban. This civic pride or urban consciousness resulting in a desire to make Durban attractive and inspiring to all would raise the standard of living. Such a consciousness was especially applied in Durban to the building of impressive Town Halls and public buildings. Durban bourgeois,

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<sup>115</sup> Within the area was situated the camp in which the small British force under Capt. J. Charlton Smith of the 27th Regiment (the Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers) was beleaguered by the emigrant Boers under Commandant Andries Pretorius in 1842.

<sup>116</sup> Daily News, 22 September, 1955: Series: 'Know Your Durban'.

<sup>117</sup> Sunday Tribune: Property Supplement, 16 December, 1990.

<sup>118</sup> According to Briggs, Victorian Cities, p.343. 'A municipality is a community of spontaneous growth, self-governed and self-contained: a whole in itself.'

represented by Councillor John Goodricke, expressed the desire to build a Town Hall as early as 1837.<sup>119</sup> 'Economy', however, still shaped the policy of the successive Durban Municipal Councils at this stage. As borrowing powers were increased, they became more inclined to spend money on such undertakings. A site on the Market Square at the corner of Gardiner and West Street was selected in 1882 for the building of Durban's first Town Hall.<sup>120</sup> The design of F.M. Dudgeon (a newly elected Fellow of the Royal Institute of British Architects), was accepted out of fourteen designs sent in.<sup>121</sup> The opening of the first Town Hall (now Post Office) on 28 October 1885 by Richard Vause, out-going Mayor, with His Royal Highness, the Prince of Wales, graciously telegraphing his congratulations, gave the citizens of Durban an opportunity to boast that they had the same kind of magnificent civic status symbol as the prosperous industrial towns of England.<sup>122</sup> This neo-Renaissance Town Hall stood for several years without the cupola that now completes the dome. A fibre glass replica of the original was fitted during restoration of the building. The architect's model for the building is housed in the Durban Local History Museum.<sup>123</sup> To celebrate the

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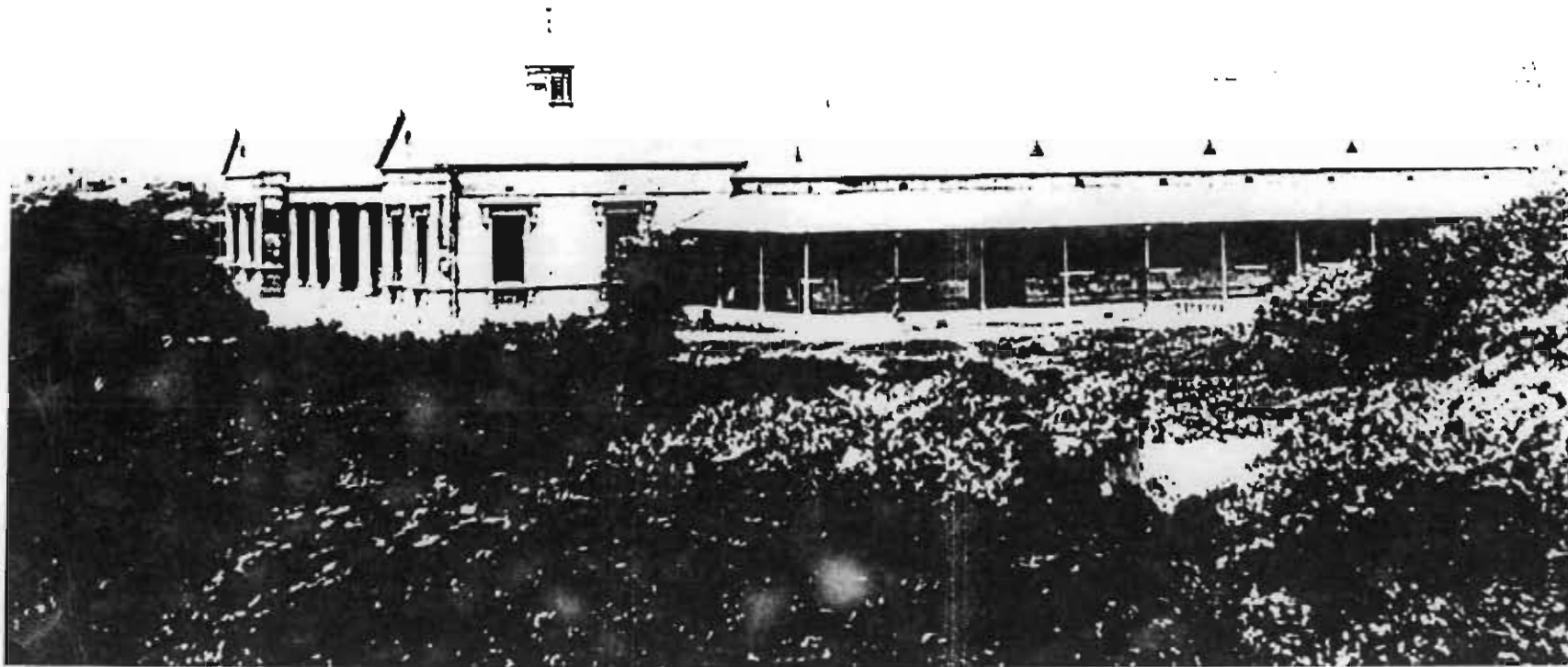
<sup>119</sup> Russell. Old Durban, p.325.

<sup>120</sup> Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1883, pp. 13-14; *ibid.*, 1884, pp.4-5; *ibid.*, 1886, pp.1-3.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, 31 July 1883, pp.13-14; Natal Mercury, 3 November 1883.

<sup>122</sup> Doreen Dreig. A Guide to Architecture in South Africa (Cape Town: Timmins, 1971), p.105. A bronze plaque was awarded to this building of distinction in the modern city centre in 1942 to number it among historical national monuments of South Africa (J.J.Oberholster, The Historical Monuments of South Africa (Cape Town: Rembrandt van Rijn Foundation, 1972), p.235).

<sup>123</sup> Daily News: Property Supplement, 14 March 1986.



The Addington Hospital was erected at the corner of Hospital Road and Prince Street facing the sea in 1879. It was first used by the Military authorities for treatment of the wounded during the Zulu War.

Photo. (Copyright: Local History Museum).



installation of an organ dispatched from London, a Musical Festival was held on 19, 20 and 22 December 1894, with a large audience in attendance. Mayor R. Jameson noted in his Mayoral Minute for 1896 as follows:

'It is to Cdr. Geo. Payne's persistent efforts, under much discouragement, that we are indebted for the possession in the Town Hall of our much-prized Organ, and the wisdom of his advocacy, and the value of his efforts, are evidenced by the marked influence the instrument has had upon the local musical advancement.'<sup>124</sup>

Apart from the new central municipal Fire Station building that was opened in 1904, King's House, Eastborne Terrace, (thanks to William Palmer's motion in Parliament) built in 1902 as the colonial governor's coastal residence (a two-storey villa with classical portico, colonnades and pavilion verandas in a park-like setting),<sup>125</sup> and numerous other Natal Government Public Buildings (of which only a few are mentioned), were also completed during this colonial period, to add to the built environment of this society. The Old Court House was completed in 1866 by Peter Paterson, who had assumed the office of Colonial Engineer in 1860.<sup>126</sup> The first Government Hospital on the Bayside, designed by Robert Sellars Upton and completed in 1861, was replaced by Addington Hospital on the Beachside in 1879, where the ill and wounded from the Anglo-Zulu War were received.<sup>127</sup>

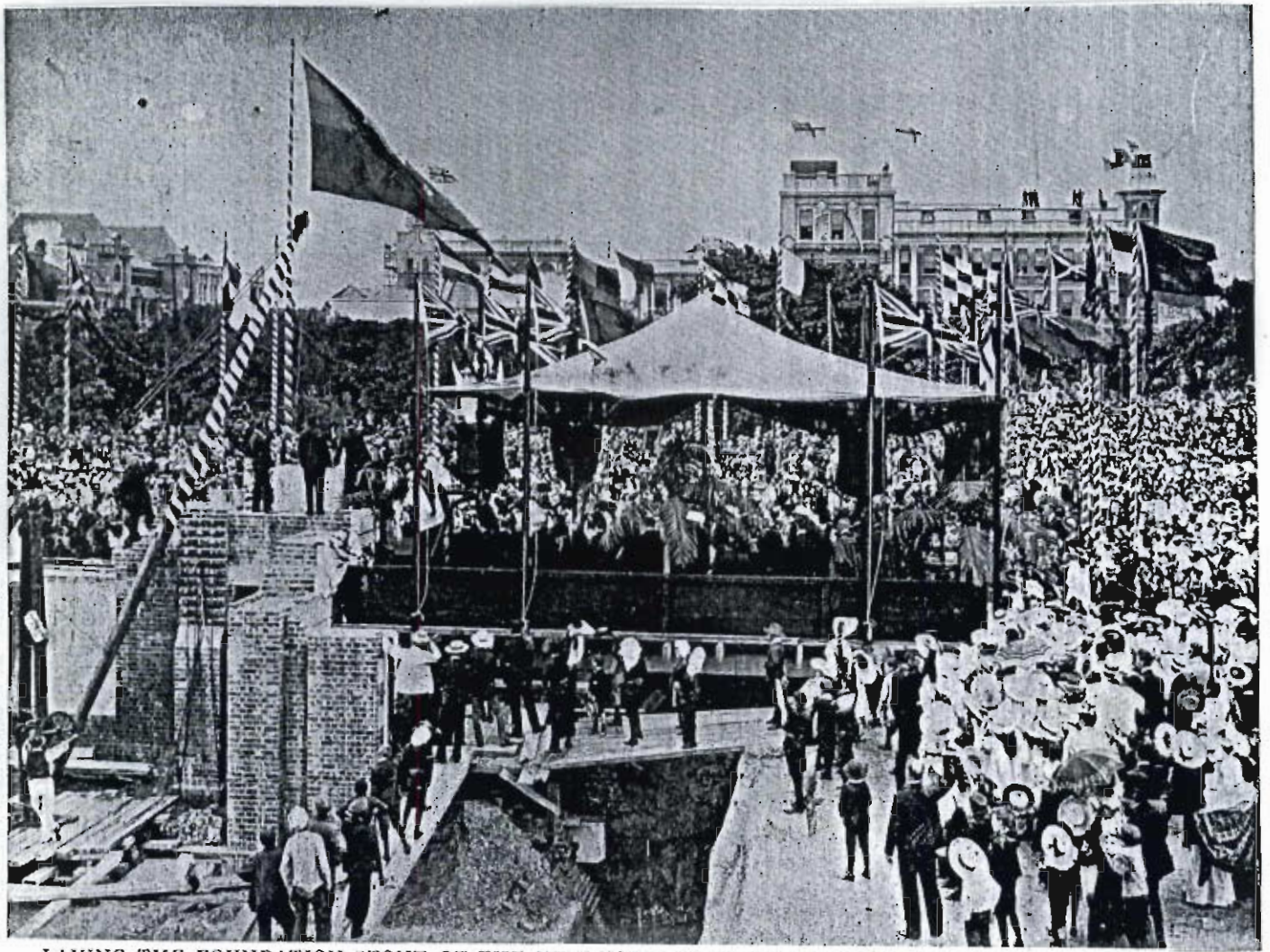
<sup>124</sup> Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1896, p.5. It is interesting to note that this selfsame organ (with a few additional pipes) is now housed in the Durban City Hall and, although not used as frequently as it might be, it is still regarded as a valuable cultural asset to the City.

<sup>125</sup> Sunday Tribune: Property Supplement, 22 November 1992.

<sup>126</sup> Kearney, Architecture in Natal, p.32.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid., pp.26-7, 45-6. See illustration.





LAYING THE FOUNDATION STONE OF THE NEW TOWN HALL, DURBAN, BY THE DUKE OF CONNAUGHT.

*Natal Mercury pictorial, 1906.*

Photo by W. D. Haygarth

With rapid population growth and a proportional increase in municipal activities, the first Town Hall soon proved to be inadequate for all the activities of the ruling elite. They thought it necessary to provide additional office accommodation for the several departments. As the Natal Government had notified their intention of building a new Post Office in Durban, it occurred to these leaders to sell the then Town Hall block to the Natal Government for Postal and Telegraphic purposes. Use would be made of that money to erect a larger Hall and Municipal Offices elsewhere. The outcome was that Government's offer was accepted by the Durban Town Council for the site and buildings on a portion of Town Gardens. The Mayor anticipated in his annual Minute of 1902 that this large and costly structure would, on completion, be greater than the Birmingham and Leeds Town Halls, the Philharmonic Hall, Manchester, and any other similar public halls in England. British architects, Messrs Woollacot, Scott & Hudson were selected to design the building.

Unfortunately, a deadlock occurred between the Natal Government and the Durban City Council over the Town Hall Sale Agreement. Although the building was vacated on 31 August 1909, the Government refused to take possession, and at one time a law suit appeared imminent. Better counsels, however, prevailed and by the time of the opening of the impressive (neo-Baroque revival)<sup>128</sup> Durban City Hall and Municipal Buildings on 12 April 1910, all differences had been satisfactorily settled. The sale of the Court House site

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<sup>128</sup> Sunday Tribune: Property Supplement, 22 November 1992;  
Natal Mercury: Supplement: Durban 100 Years, 5 October 1992.

was the factor that facilitated the settlement of the Town Hall dispute. The Natal Government wished to erect Law Courts on the Bayside Erf on which stood a school for Coloured children. It was also the site where the first Government Hospital had been erected in 1861 and which afterwards accommodated the Durban High School and portion of the Boys' Model School.<sup>129</sup> The Natal Government also required the adjoining Erf belonging to the Council. Agreement was reached only in 1901, by which the Government paid the sum of £50 000, being the balance of purchase under the Town Hall Sale Agreement. The ruling elite at the same time purchased the Court House site and buildings, including Police Quarters, for the sum of £30 000, and agreed to erect new Law Courts for the City of Durban.<sup>130</sup>

The day of the opening of the new Town Hall was observed as a public holiday, and consequently thousands of burgesses participated. The celebrations were on a far greater scale than at the opening of the first Town Hall and provide a further insight into this community's activities. The Mayor, on the following evening, entertained some 1 500 distinguished visitors and burgesses at a reception and ball. On the succeeding evening an inaugural concert was given, followed by a special children's concert on 15 April. The celebrations were concluded by a Children's Day in Albert Park on 16 April, when special commemorative miniature cups, with a view inside the cups of the building, were presented to the children. Altogether 5 504 cups were distributed.<sup>131</sup> This building expressed the self-confidence

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<sup>129</sup> Daily News, 24 September, 1955: Series: 'Know Your Durban'.

<sup>130</sup> Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1903, pp.2-5; *ibid.*, 1910, pp.6-11.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, 31 July 1910, pp.6-11.

and municipal self-satisfaction of the citizens and aesthetically enriched the City of Durban.<sup>132</sup> The memory of those gentlemen who have occupied the Mayoral Chair, was perpetuated by their portraits hung in the first and second Town Halls. This ruling was in accordance with a suggestion made in 1897 by Mayor J. Nicol.<sup>133</sup>

Patronage of the arts was looked upon as a responsibility by the urban upper class. For example, Mayor Felix Hollander, who in addition to being an accomplished flautist, was also a patron of Durban music and held several positions in local musical organizations.<sup>134</sup> Private literary clubs and learned societies also maintained a semi-public reading room, the Mechanic's Institute, which was founded by members such as H.W. Currie in November 1853, on a piece of land on the Market Square large enough for a cottage to be built by John Hunt and completed in 1860.<sup>135</sup> The organized effort made by the governing elite to provide even better facilities made it possible that a public library, museum and art gallery could flourish in the first and second Town Halls. R.W. Tyzack was recorded as a committee member in the Natal Almanac, Directory and Yearly Register of 1885, being Treasurer, and the Mayor Richard Vause was an ex officio member. He was succeeded by J.W. Stranack.<sup>136</sup>

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<sup>132</sup> Daily News: Property Supplement, 21 March 1986.

<sup>133</sup> Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1900, p.18.

<sup>134</sup> Leventon, 'Felix Hollander', in Dictionary of South African Biography, 3, pp.409-10.

<sup>135</sup> Russell, Old Durban, pp.307-9; Daily News, 24 September 1955; Dawes, Landmarks of Old Durban, pp.155-70; Local History Museum: File 572133: 581 C, 'H.W. Currie'.

<sup>136</sup> Natal Almanac, Directory and Yearly Register, 1885: Durban Institutions, p.341.



The nucleus of a Municipal Art Gallery was formed on 6 July 1898 when a deputation by members of the Durban Savage Club waited upon the Council and handed over eight pictures bought in Grahamstown. The pictures were hung temporarily in the Council Chamber until a more suitable place could be found. The ruling elite then voted £500 for the purchase of pictures in England.<sup>137</sup> An Art Gallery Committee was appointed. The outcome of their efforts was that twenty-three pictures were hung in 1900 and it was recorded in the same year that 4 213 visitors had frequented the gallery, and by 1911, 25 000.<sup>138</sup> A lasting memorial to Queen Victoria was the purchasing of a painting of her by a British artist (the latter selected with the help of Walter Greenacre serving on the Art Gallery Committee) and hung in 1903. A public subscription was organised by the ladies of Durban.<sup>139</sup> Several 'Medici' prints were added to the collection in 1908. The Art Gallery was removed from the Council Chamber in the old building in 1909 and housed in a Gallery in the new Town Hall. Permission was given to the Natal Society of Artists to hold an exhibition of Colonial Art in the newly opened Town Hall in 1910, as well as their annual exhibition.<sup>140</sup>

Other values which affected recreational pursuits and resulted in modifications to the physical-spatial environment were, for example, scientific interests, common to many members of this society, in the world of flowers, birds, insects and other aspects of natural life.

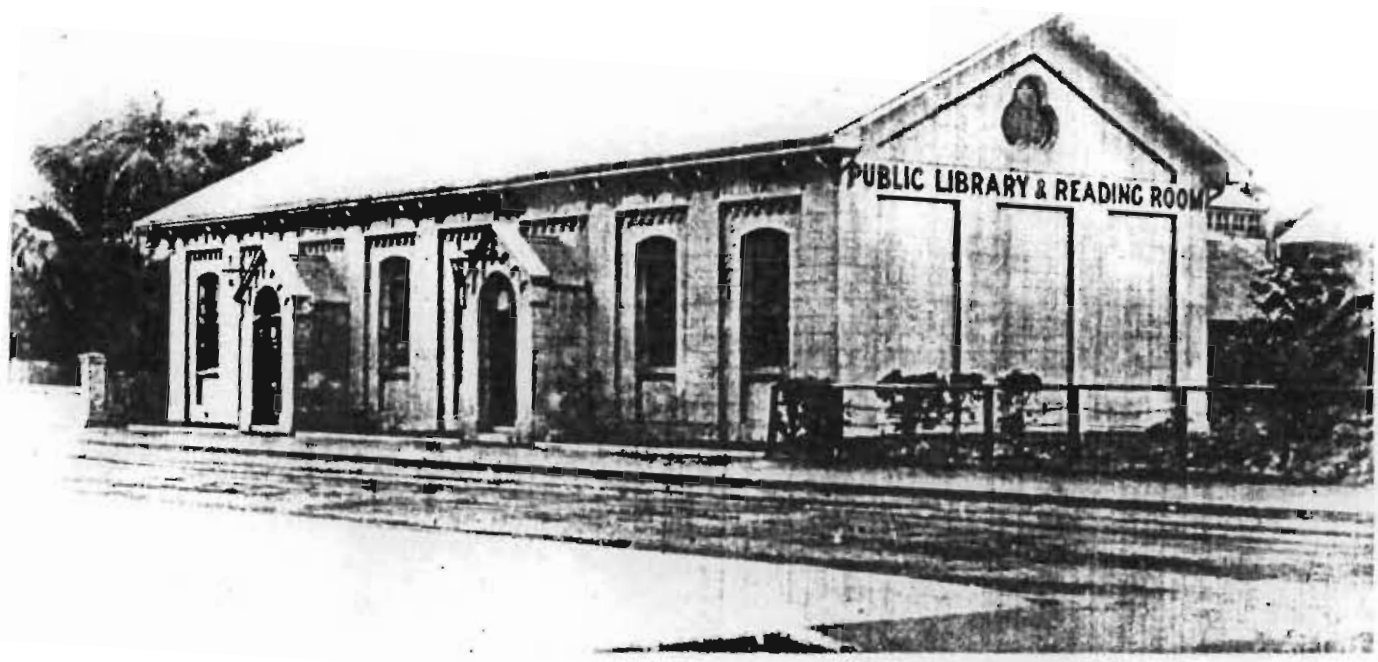
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<sup>137</sup> Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July, 1899, pp.2-5.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*; *ibid.*, 1911, pp.260-76.

<sup>139</sup> Henderson, Fifty Years, p.189.

<sup>140</sup> Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1910, p.215.



The Durban Public Library and Reading Room on the corner of West and Church Streets, opened on Monday, July 7th, 1879.

Photo. (Copyright: Local History Museum).

Such values led to their interest in investigating, reading, writing, talking about and collecting these phenomena. This shared sense of values helped to bond social relationships and resulted in such interests being pursued at group level, which in turn led to a collection of valuable contributions of natural history exhibits eventually being housed in a Museum. The Museum, previously housed in the library, was formally taken under the care of the Borough in 1890. Official support was given by the Durban Town Council and Natal Government; they gave an annual grant towards helping with its expenses.<sup>141</sup> The first Curator was appointed in 1891. Provision was made for the Museum in the new Town Hall plans in 1902.<sup>142</sup> A Medical Museum was added in 1910 and developed together with a Medical Library to form part of this municipal institution.<sup>143</sup> When the new City Hall and Municipal Buildings were opened in 1910, the book collection of the Mechanics' Institute was moved there and became a Municipal Library, which still serves the public. A Committee of Management was appointed. A Reference Library was formed and £100 donated by the Durban Municipality to purchase important and valuable publications to form a nucleus of the proposed collection. The Library then comprised a Reading Room, Lending and Reference Library, which were appropriately furnished. The South African Medical Congress had been held in Durban in 1909 and a Medical Library, as mentioned before, was added to the Municipal Library.<sup>144</sup>

<sup>141</sup> Ibid., 31 July 1890, pp.3-5.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid., 31 July 1902, pp.6-8.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid., 31 July 1910, p.213.

<sup>144</sup> Ibid.



The Botanical Gardens were an outcome of botanical activities pursued at group level. This interest originally led to the formation of an Agricultural Society in Durban in 1848, under guidance of Charles Johnston (later elected Councillor in 1854), which experimented with various plants to establish what could or could not be grown in Natal.<sup>145</sup> The true copy of the 1846 Diagram of the Town Lands of Durban as surveyed by the Government Surveyor, Thomas Oke (as mentioned previously in Chapter 4), clearly revealed fifty acres of land set aside for Horticultural Gardens.<sup>146</sup> Mark J. Mcken, a Kew-trained man, was appointed in 1851 as Curator at £50 per annum. He brought with him a valuable collection of plants, many of them new to Natal and advocated the establishment of the Botanical Gardens. He held office for twenty-one years and corresponded with Kew, from where he obtained a great variety of plants for the Gardens. Serious botany could now be practised.<sup>147</sup> Julius Wilhelm Keit, married 'in' to one of Councillor (and Mayor in 1879) H.W. Currie's daughters, succeeded Mcken (1872-1882) and was responsible for much tree-planting along the avenues in Durban, especially on the Esplanade, where 'Keits Avenue' was named after him.<sup>148</sup> The Natal Almanac, Directory and Yearly Register of 1865 recorded B.W. Greenacre, H.W. Currie and R. Vause as serving on the Committee of the Natal Agricultural and Horticultural Society and again in 1880 recorded R. Vause, B.W. Greenacre, H.W. Currie and R. Jameson

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<sup>145</sup> Natal Mercury, May 1954: Series.

<sup>146</sup> Government Surveyor's Office: The 1846 Diagram of the Town Lands of Durban. See Figure 1 and 2.

<sup>147</sup> Natal Mercury, May 1954: Series: 'Pioneers of Durban'. See Donal P. and Patricia A. McCracken, Natal The Garden Colony: Victorian Natal and the Royal Botanical Gardens, Kew (Johannesburg: Frandsen, 1990), pp.1-10.

<sup>148</sup> Durban Local History Museum: File 572133; 581 C: 'H.W. Currie'.

serving on the Committee.<sup>149</sup> By 1882 it became known as the Durban Botanic Society<sup>150</sup> of which Benjamin Greenacre became President.<sup>151</sup> Medley Wood was appointed as Curator in 1882 and assumed control of the Gardens until they became the responsibility of the Durban Town Council in 1913. Medwood was responsible for forming the nucleus of the future Herbarium at the Gardens. Medwood Gardens in the city centre was named after him.<sup>152</sup> Public places of recreation, such as parks or gardens, as well as all the streets lined with trees so that the people might inhale oxygen in abundance from nature's own laboratory, were viewed in Victorian England and likewise in Durban as a health measure of fundamental importance. They would serve as 'lungs' or 'ventilators' (both terms were often used) absorbing or dispelling the impurities created by the urban environment. Provision was made in 1846 at the West and East End of Durban respectively for parks and the land was formally set aside by the ruling elite in 1865 as 'Albert Park' and 'Victoria Park'.<sup>153</sup> Even these chosen names for the parks stressed this British society's affiliation to the British Crown.

Steps were also taken by the governing elite in 1879 to create parks or recreation grounds in the suburbs. Thirty-three acres were accordingly set aside for a 'Peoples' Park' on the Berea, which later

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<sup>149</sup> Natal Almanac, Directory and Yearly Register, 1865: Commercial Directory, p.60; *ibid.*, 1880: Durban Institutions, p.246.

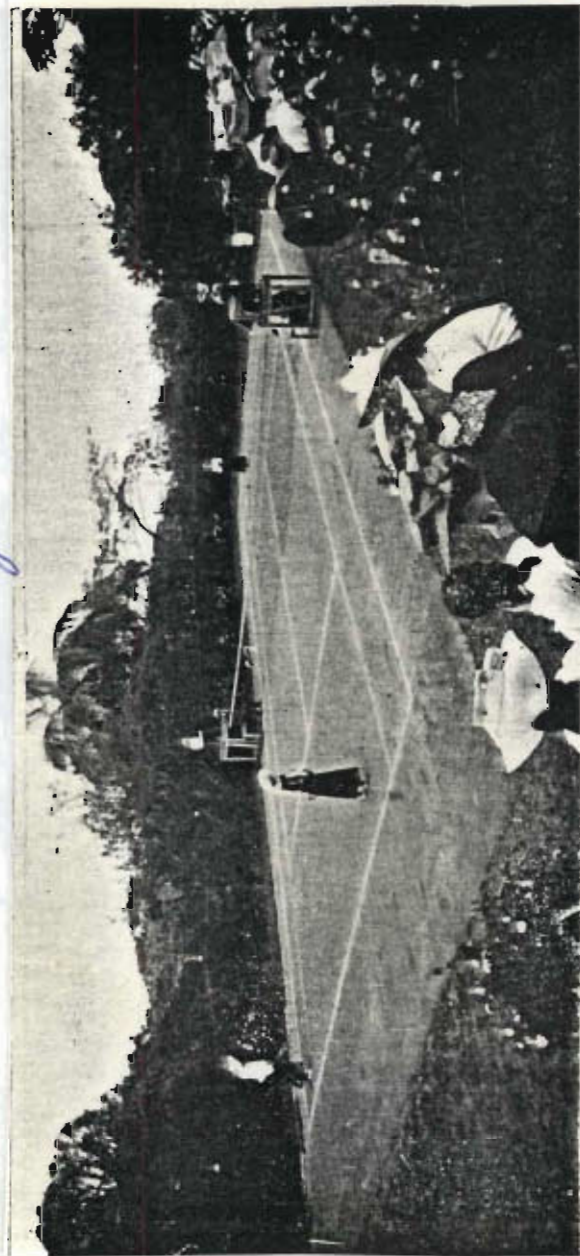
<sup>150</sup> Daily News, 24 September 1955: Series: 'Know Your Durban'.

<sup>151</sup> Natal Almanac, Directory and Yearly Register 1899: Durban Institutions, pp.783-90; The Natal Who's Who, p.79.

<sup>152</sup> Daily News, 24 September 1955: Series: 'Know Your Durban'.

<sup>153</sup> Bjorvig, 'History of the Durban Town Council, 1854-1879', pp.135-6. See Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1883, pp.17-18; *ibid.*, 1884, p.4; *ibid.*, 1885, pp.6-7.

Natal Mercury Pictorial, 1905



YOUNG LADIES' INTERTOWN COLLEGIATE TENNIS MATCH.  
Durban v. Maritzburg—the former being winners.

Photo by W. D. Heygarth

became known as Berea Park.<sup>154</sup> Plots of land or open spaces at the foot of the Berea (in the vicinity of Lancer's Road), as well as in the East End near the Gaol, were also set aside as playgrounds for the White youth of the town in 1879.<sup>155</sup> In the thickly populated Bulwer Road locality, four-and-a-half acres were set aside in 1905 for recreation, and sixteen-and-a-quarter acres for a park, which became known as Bulwer Park. In the Stamford Hill district (Sutton Park) six-and-a-half acres were at the same time laid off as recreation ground. Some five-and-a-half acres were added to Albert Park. Twenty-seven acres were set aside in 1894 for parkland where Mitchell Park and its neighbour, Jameson Park, are presently located. The development of Zoological Gardens in Mitchell Park became a great source of attraction to visitors from the early 1900s onwards.<sup>156</sup>

The Tree Planting Committee, with enthusiastic members such as J.D. Ballance (Chairman) and R. Jameson, greatly supported the idea in 1883 of general tree-planting for the streets of Durban.

'In such a climate as ours the effect would not only be ornamental, but afford hereafter shade and protection.'<sup>157</sup>

A Curator of Municipal Parks and Gardens was appointed in 1883. The outcome was that good progress was made in developing Albert and Victoria Parks. A code of behaviour based on the value-system of

<sup>154</sup> Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1879, p.7.

<sup>155</sup> Ibid., p.136.

<sup>156</sup> Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1905, pp.5-10; ibid., 1909, pp.6-7; ibid., 1911, pp. 221-5, 18-19. See Sunday Tribune: Supplement, 28 August 1994: A Park with a Past.

<sup>157</sup> Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1883: Report of the Tree Planting Committee, pp.17-18.

this British society was formulated when Park Regulations were approved in 1884 and posted in these Parks.<sup>158</sup> It was reported in 1887 that 'a gang of 8 Natives were employed in clearing, weeding, and planting out Trees'.<sup>159</sup> In 1889 this Committee recorded that on Arbor Day young trees had been distributed to scholars of the local schools for planting.<sup>160</sup> Mayor B.W. Greenacre clearly stated the following:

'If we are to make our town attractive to visitors, and to afford additional pleasure and comfort to Burgesses in our parks and roads, I am of opinion that a larger vote should be made next year to this department, to extend its usefulness and hasten the work of tree planting, so desirable in our climate.'<sup>161</sup>

Further interaction among White social groups in this community took place out of doors when the Durban Lawn Tennis Club was encouraged by Council to be formed at Albert Park in 1880 - the first Tennis Club in Durban. The first tennis tournament in Durban therefore dates back as far as 1881.<sup>162</sup> This was ten years after the game was initiated in England. Thereafter the annual tournament became a great occasion in the life of colonists in both Durban and Pietermaritzburg.<sup>163</sup> The second Tennis Club, the Berea Club, was the first Club catering for tennis to be established in 1882 in the suburbs of Durban.<sup>164</sup>

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<sup>158</sup> Henderson, Fifty Years, p.184.

<sup>159</sup> Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1887, p.6.

<sup>160</sup> Ibid., 31 July 1889, pp.38-40.

<sup>161</sup> Ibid., 31 July 1890, p.43.

<sup>162</sup> Natal Mercury, May 1954: Series: 'Pioneers of Durban'.

<sup>163</sup> Ibid.

<sup>164</sup> Natal Mercury, May, 1954: Series: 'Pioneers of Durban'.



The first recorded cricket match in Natal took place in Durban on the flats near the racecourse on 2 May 1860 between 'Eleven of the Maritzburg Club' and 'Eleven Gentlemen of Durban'. The challenge was issued by Maritzburg, and was promptly taken up by Durban, although no organised cricket club existed at this stage.<sup>145</sup> The Natal Mercury described it as follows:

'Yesterday the stores and other places closed about noon, and the town turned out en masse to witness the fight...the scene with its horsemen, flags and wagons, was a very gay and inspiring one.'<sup>146</sup>

E.W. Greenacre, as President, and his son, Walter Greenacre, were associated with the Durban County Cricket Club as recorded in the Natal Almanac, Directory and Yearly Register of 1890.<sup>147</sup> The first international Test played in Natal at Lord's Grounds was during the visit to South Africa of H.P.G. Leveson-Gower's M.C.C. team in 1909-1910, the second Test of the Tour being played in Durban from 21-26 January 1910, with a win for South Africa by 95 runs.<sup>148</sup>

Golf was first introduced to Natal by J.H. Wade who arrived in the Colony in 1874. He had learnt the game in Scotland on the Montrose Links. In conjunction with John Watt he founded the Durban Golf Club in 1892, of which he was made a life member.<sup>149</sup> Benjamin Greenacre was recorded as having been Vice-President of this Golf Club, the Polo Club and Durban Chess Club, and also Honorary President of the

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<sup>145</sup> Natal Mercury, 3 May 1860 and May 1954; Russell, Old Durban, pp.493-5.

<sup>146</sup> Natal Mercury, 3 May 1860.

<sup>147</sup> Natal Almanac, Directory and Yearly Register, 1890: Durban Institutions, p.484.

<sup>148</sup> Natal Mercury, May 1954: Series: 'Pioneers of Durban'.

<sup>149</sup> Ibid.

Durban Bowling Club.<sup>170</sup> In pursuance of the policy of assisting and encouraging healthy sport, and thus increasing the attractiveness of the town, the Recreation Grounds Committee (with Charlie Henwood and Walter Greenacre taking an active part), authorised an expenditure of £800 in 1909 for a new Golf Course of eighteen holes, which was completed early in 1910.<sup>171</sup>

Other 'Home' sporting activities extended by this settler society to Durban and Pietermaritzburg, included several football clubs. The Natal Wasps Football Club, for example, was established in Durban in 1879.<sup>172</sup> It arranged occasional games for both codes and could therefore be considered as the first Rugby Football Club in Durban.<sup>173</sup> The second mentioned by 1891 was the Berea Rugby Football Club.<sup>174</sup> A third Rugby Club, the Wanderers, was formed in Durban in 1902, and this led to the formation of the Durban Rugby Union in 1903 - the Sub-Union, as it is today, of the Natal Rugby Union.<sup>175</sup> Two more clubs came into being in 1906, namely the Durban Rovers Rugby Football Club - afterwards just called Durban Rovers and the Old Collegian Rugby Football Club. The latter was meant for

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<sup>170</sup> Natal Almanac, Directory and Yearly Register 1899: Durban Institutions, pp.783-90.

<sup>171</sup> Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1910, pp.2-7; *ibid.*, 1911, pp.6-10.

<sup>172</sup> Natal Almanac, Directory and Yearly Register, 1880: Durban Institutions, p.340.

<sup>173</sup> Alfred Hubert, The Natal Rugby Story (Pietermaritzburg: Shuter and Shooter, 1980), pp. 2-3, 9-10, 18.

<sup>174</sup> *Ibid.*, p.44.

<sup>175</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.99-103.



those players who had passed through any College or public school in South Africa and became simply known as 'Old Collegians.' There were thus sufficient clubs in Durban to warrant the introduction of a league competition for which J.S. Wylie (former member of the Legislative Assembly and Lieutenant-Colonel commanding the Durban Light Infantry) presented a cup.<sup>176</sup> Sir Donald Currie, head of the Old Castle Mail Packets Company, to whom South African Sport owes so much, gave great stimulus to both codes by the introduction of the Currie Cup tournaments.<sup>177</sup>

Rugby was taken up in Durban schools only from 1907 onwards and received a real boost in 1910 when A.S. Langley came to the Durban High School as the new Headmaster.<sup>178</sup> Just when the Durban High School Old Boys (DHSOB) Rugby Football Club was formed is not precisely known, except that on 2 February 1911, the new club sought admission to the Durban Rugby Union.<sup>179</sup>

Athletics in Durban dates back to 1880 when the Natal Wasps Football Club held a meeting at Lords. In 1884 the football clubs amalgamated and became known as the Durban Amateur Athletics Association and organized championship events. E.W. Greenacre was recorded as having been Honorary President of this Association, as well as President of

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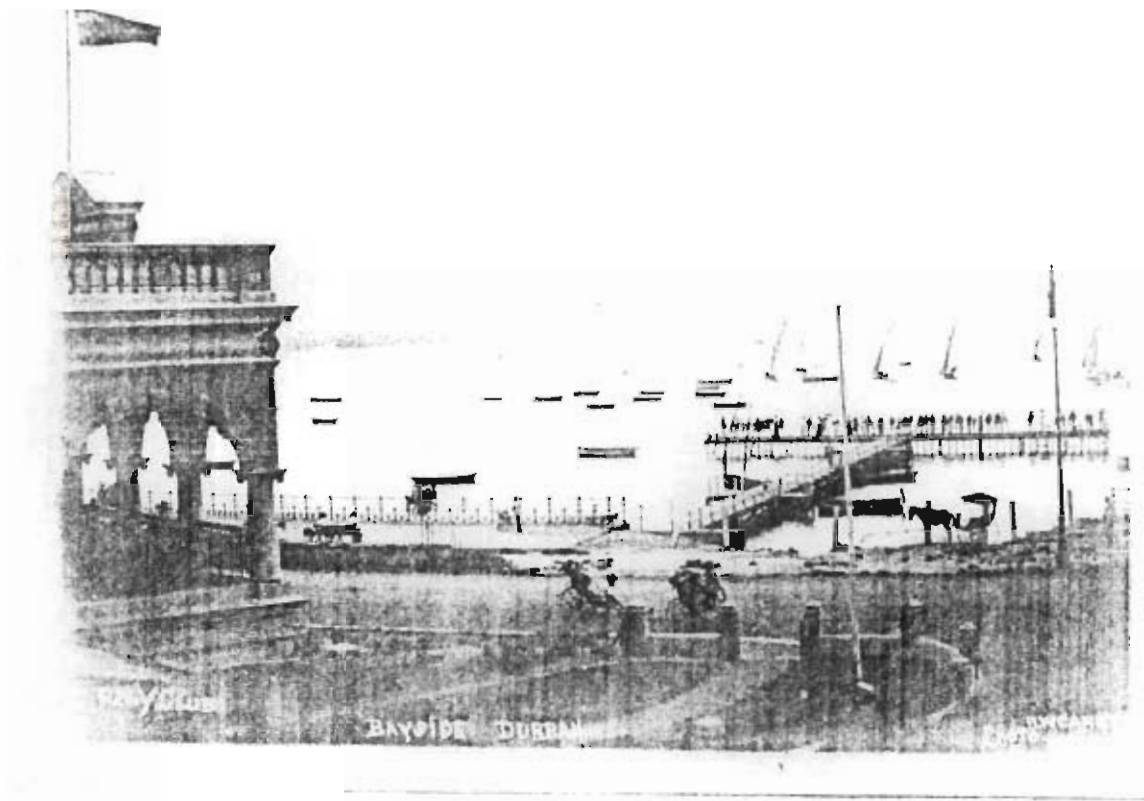
<sup>176</sup> Ibid., p.72.

<sup>177</sup> Ibid.

<sup>178</sup> Ibid., pp.110-11, 138-9. See Robert Morrell, 'Forging A Ruling Race: Rugby and White Masculinity in Colonial Natal, c 1870-1910' (paper delivered at a Department of Historical Studies Stellenbosch Workshop, 1993), pp.3-4.

<sup>179</sup> Hubert, Natal Rugby Story, pp.125-6, 129, 145, 161.

The Bayside from Royal Natal Yacht Club 1902



Copyright: Durban Local History Museum)

The Durban Harbour, Bay and Bluff from Royal Natal Yacht Club, showing yachting jetty (after Esplanade was built) completed in 1902.

Durban's Pirates Gymnastic Club.<sup>180</sup> The ruling elite decided in 1886 to lay off an Oval for sporting purposes in Albert Park in response to a request from Athletic Clubs. The Oval Pavilion was completed in 1889. Carriage drives round the Oval and a temporary grandstand for 1 500 people were completed in 1902.<sup>181</sup>

In 1852 the Natal (Royal Natal from 1897) Yacht Club became the first Yacht Club formed in Durban. The Old Club House was situated at 130 Victoria Embankment and moved to new premises on the Yacht Mole in 1891. Of the colonial elite, three Mayors (J. Millar 1867-71 and 1877-82, J.R. Goodricke 1872-76, and J. Ellis Brown 1908), served as Commodore<sup>182</sup> and one (J.W. Leuchars 1889) as Vice-Commodore.<sup>183</sup> The Point Yacht Club, formed at a later date on 14 May 1892,<sup>184</sup> also has to be mentioned as integral to the life of White society during the colonial period. Patrons associated with the Durban Rowing Club, established in 1874, were John Millar, Richard Vause and J.D. Ballance.<sup>185</sup> Felix Hollander was a foundation member of the Durban Rifle Association and the Durban Country Club.<sup>186</sup> In Natal the foundations of sporting activities pursued in the post-Union

<sup>180</sup> Natal Mercury, May 1954: Series; Natal Almanac, Directory and Yearly Register 1899: Durban Institutions, pp.783-90.

<sup>181</sup> Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1902, pp.91-2; Mayor's Minute, 1903, p.91; Henderson, Fifty Years, p.130.

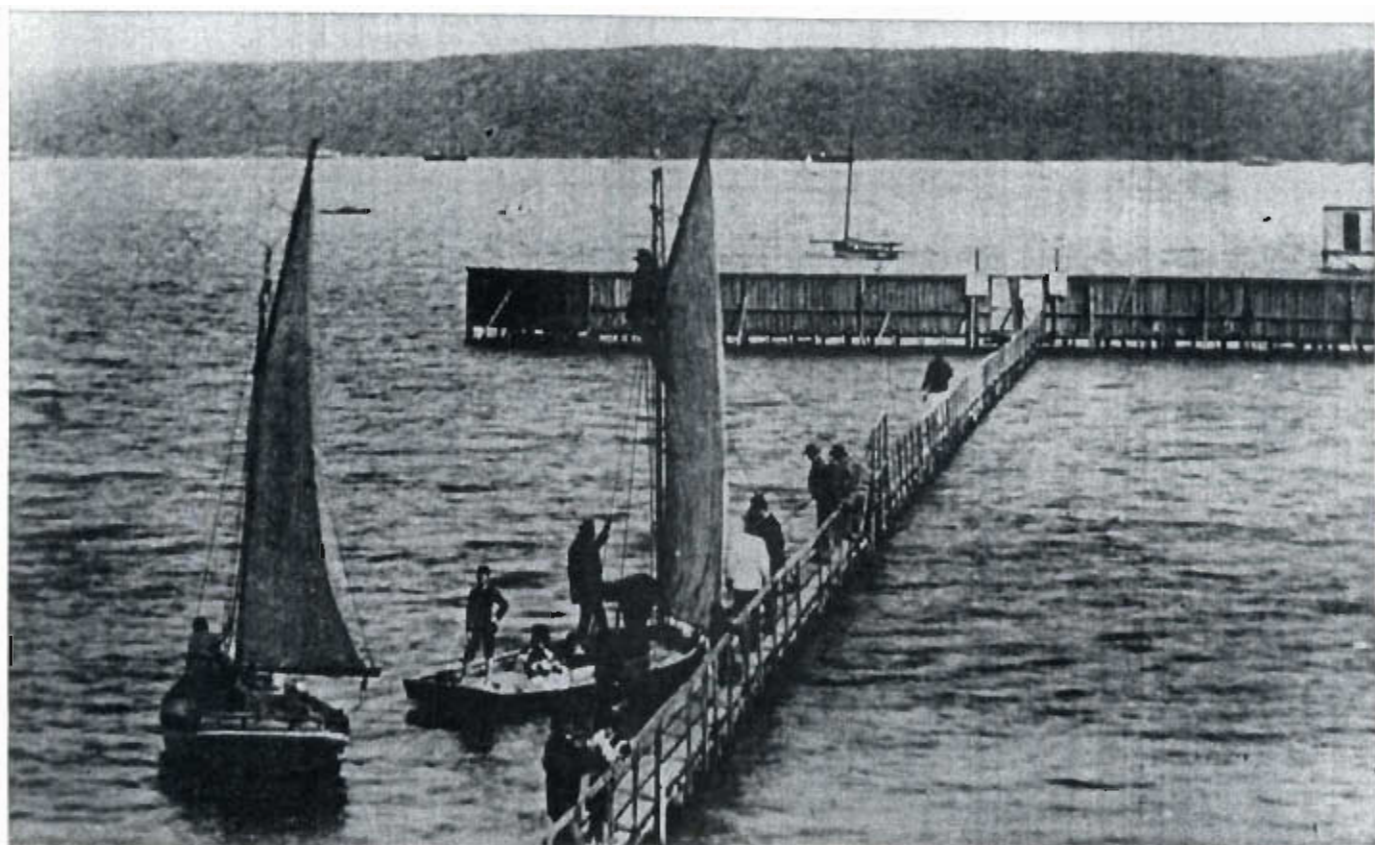
<sup>182</sup> Commemorated inside the new Club House on the Durban Yacht Mole.

<sup>183</sup> Natal Almanac, Directory and Yearly Register, 1890: Durban Institutions, p.483.

<sup>184</sup> Daily News, 20 January 1892.

<sup>185</sup> Natal Almanac, Directory and Yearly Register, 1880: Durban Institutions, p.247.

<sup>186</sup> Leventon, 'Felix Hollander', in Dictionary of South African Biography, 3, pp.409-10.



One of the two Bathing Stages erected by the Town Council in Durban Bay in 1863 with the judges box for yacht races beyond. The bathing stages were situated near Albert Park.

Photo. (Copyright: Local History Museum).



period were thus largely laid in Durban and Pietermaritzburg by leading members of British settler society. The various sporting clubs, of which only some have been mentioned, formed important institutions in the colonial city of Durban, providing further insight into the way a collective culture operated, which has been the focus of this chapter.

Other recreational activities pursued were, for example, sea bathing. The first primitive bathing house in Durban Bay (Inner Harbour area - more or less where Orange Grove is on the Esplanade), was opened to the public in 1860 and became known as 'Old Archer's duck pond' or, for variety, 'Archer's hen coop', after its owner, George Archer.<sup>187</sup> The ruling elite erected two free baths (one for ladies and one for men) at the end of Russell Street in 1863 when Archer's bathing house fell in disrepair. These were in continuous use,<sup>188</sup> and promoted cleanliness and recreation. Public baths, supplied with salt water from the Back Beach, were opened on 10 October 1892, with an aquatic display.<sup>189</sup> These were built on a portion of the Market Square in central Durban adjoining the Library grounds and became known as the Town Baths. Two days a week were reserved for ladies only. A hairdressing salon was attached to the outer wing,<sup>190</sup> where the first electric hair dryer was installed in 1910.<sup>191</sup>

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<sup>187</sup> Russell, Old Durban, pp.309-10.

<sup>188</sup> Ibid.

<sup>189</sup> Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1893, p.3; *ibid.*, 1896, pp.10, 57; *ibid.*, 1898, pp.42-51.

<sup>190</sup> *Ibid.*, 31 July 1896, pp.10, 57; *ibid.*, 1898, pp.42-51; *ibid.*, 1907, pp.210-11.

<sup>191</sup> *Ibid.*, 31 July 1911, pp.26, 233-8.

A code of behaviour had to be enforced here as disorderly conduct and petty thieving became a problem.<sup>192</sup>

The first step in beach improvement was at Durban's North Beach,<sup>193</sup> then more commonly referred to as the Ocean Beach. The original lower promenade had just been completed and the original semi-circular pier, with its safe bathing enclosure, was erected as an experiment by the Durban Town Council. Mayor E.L. Acutt and Councillor Felix Hollander took the initiative in this venture. Concurrently, Beach Road was hardened and this beach became a popular pleasure resort for up-country visitors.<sup>194</sup> The revenue derived from it paid for the newly erected Open Air Swimming Bath alongside, which became known as the Beach Baths. The popularity of the Town Baths, however, did not diminish by reason of the counter-action at the Beach.<sup>195</sup> Bathing had definitely become a habit.

The cultural and sporting activities of Durban, similarly to those of other colonial cities such as Melbourne in Australia,<sup>196</sup> had a predominantly British cast. Private associations with a moral purpose which grew up during this colonial period all had British counterparts: the Benevolent Society was founded in 1855 and associated with it at the time were members of the settler elite such

<sup>192</sup> *Ibid.*, 31 July 1898, pp. 42-51.

<sup>193</sup> *Daily News*, 12 February 1942.

<sup>194</sup> *Durban Mayor's Minute*, 31 July 1907, pp.210-11.

<sup>195</sup> *Ibid.*, 31 July 1907, pp.210-11; *ibid.*, 1911, pp.26, 233-6.

<sup>196</sup> Briggs, *Victorian Cities*, p.294.



as the wives of A.W. Evans, J. Goodricke and J. Millar;<sup>197</sup> other such structures were the Mechanics' Institute (mentioned before) with A.W. Evans recorded as one of the Trustees in 1865<sup>198</sup> and Temperance Societies such as the 'Total Abstinence Society'. The latter called their first meeting for 14 July 1857, with Thomas Harvey (partner in business with E.W. Greenacre) as the convenor. There was also the 'Band of Hope', or, more correctly, the 'Durban Temperance Band of Hope', which made its first appearance on 26 June 1860, the same day as the Railway was opened.<sup>199</sup> Another association formed was the Young Men's Parliament of 1896, which formally adopted the title of the Durban Parliament in 1908 (a Parliamentary Debating Society, 'to right the wrongs that beset South Africa'), of which until 1961 the incumbent Mayor of Durban, traditionally acted as Governor General.<sup>200</sup> Many more unmentioned organizations, were all vehicles for improvement, a feature which was common to society in Britain, Australia,<sup>201</sup> and Durban, South Africa.

The pattern of cultural activities, however, depended much upon the free entry of British ideas and of British people, particularly those

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<sup>197</sup> Russell, Old Durban, p.250. Natal Almanac, Directory and Yearly Register, 1863: Commercial Directory, p.61, recorded the wives of E.W. Greenacre, A.M. Harvey and H. Gillespie as Committee members for that year.

<sup>198</sup> Ibid., pp.307-9: Natal Almanac, Directory and Yearly Register, 1863: Commercial Directory, p.61.

<sup>199</sup> Russell, Old Durban, p.476.

<sup>200</sup> Daily News, 25 July 1969.

<sup>201</sup> Briggs, Victorian Cities, p.294.

people with personal initiative and genuine British inspiration. The architectural profession in Durban, for example, sought to create the same drive for beautification as the architectural profession in Britain. The Natal Institute of Architects, founded by William Emery Roberts (Mayor in 1887), who became its first President in 1903, copied the Institute of British Architects. The colonial city of Durban was ruled by a settler elite which performed a social role and provided in its modified cultural environment an opportunity for new relationships and alternative patterns of behaviour. At the same time the particular kinship and community needs unique to this colonial society were also accommodated.

The significance of the colonial city of Durban was that it provided, in its physical, social, psychological and 'aesthetic' climate, the closest possible replica of conditions of life 'at Home'. Durban provided the setting in which metropolitan institutions, activity patterns and environments could be maintained, as dictated by the underlying value-system of the British settlers. It became the focal point for the development of a colonial culture, a culturally constituted behavioural environment. Simultaneously, it functioned as an integral part of the social world of this colonial community. The colonial city of Durban demonstrated the mutual interaction between man's behaviour and his culturally modified environment. In so doing this city, like other colonial cities, simply functioned as cities classically functioned: '...they were both matrix and evidence for the appearance of a civilization.'<sup>202</sup>

Visual material has been included only to a limited extent in this

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<sup>202</sup> Glaab & Brown, A History of Urban America, p.23.

thesis and serves as a record of the British settlers' 'interaction' with the environment. The importance attached to the recording and storing of selected 'environmental' phenomena and examples of this colonial British culture is in itself evidence of fundamental cultural attitudes towards the urban environment.

## Chapter 6

Harbour Improvements

The assumption made in Chapter 4 that physical-spatial structure has meaning for the analysis of social structure is further elaborated upon in this and succeeding chapters. The physical-spatial form of the colonial city of Durban was affected by British applied technology. Progress was made by economic-technological order. A few essential elements of industrial-capitalist urbanisation provided by the controlling British settler elite have been selected in this and the following chapters for further discussion. These stepping-stones of progress were, for example, Durban harbour improvements and introduction of railways (referred to in Chapter 4), plus additional services such as tramways, electrification, telephones and sanitary improvements. The economic level of urban development of the colonial Durban was interwoven with these technological steps to progress. A brief insight will be given into how the dominant sector of British settler society proved that, given facilities for transportation and a market overseas, it was possible to exploit the abundant natural resources of Natal and further afield with animate and inanimate energy sources. The Durban environment was transformed by such shaping and adaptation to new uses. The colonial urban development of Durban has, therefore, to be seen as a partly planned or directed process by leaders of British colonial society.

Anthony King,<sup>1</sup> a theoretician of the colonial city, who has developed detailed typologies for them (referred to in the Preface), emphasized that the urban forms of a dominant industrialising

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<sup>1</sup> King, Colonial Urban Development, p.XII.

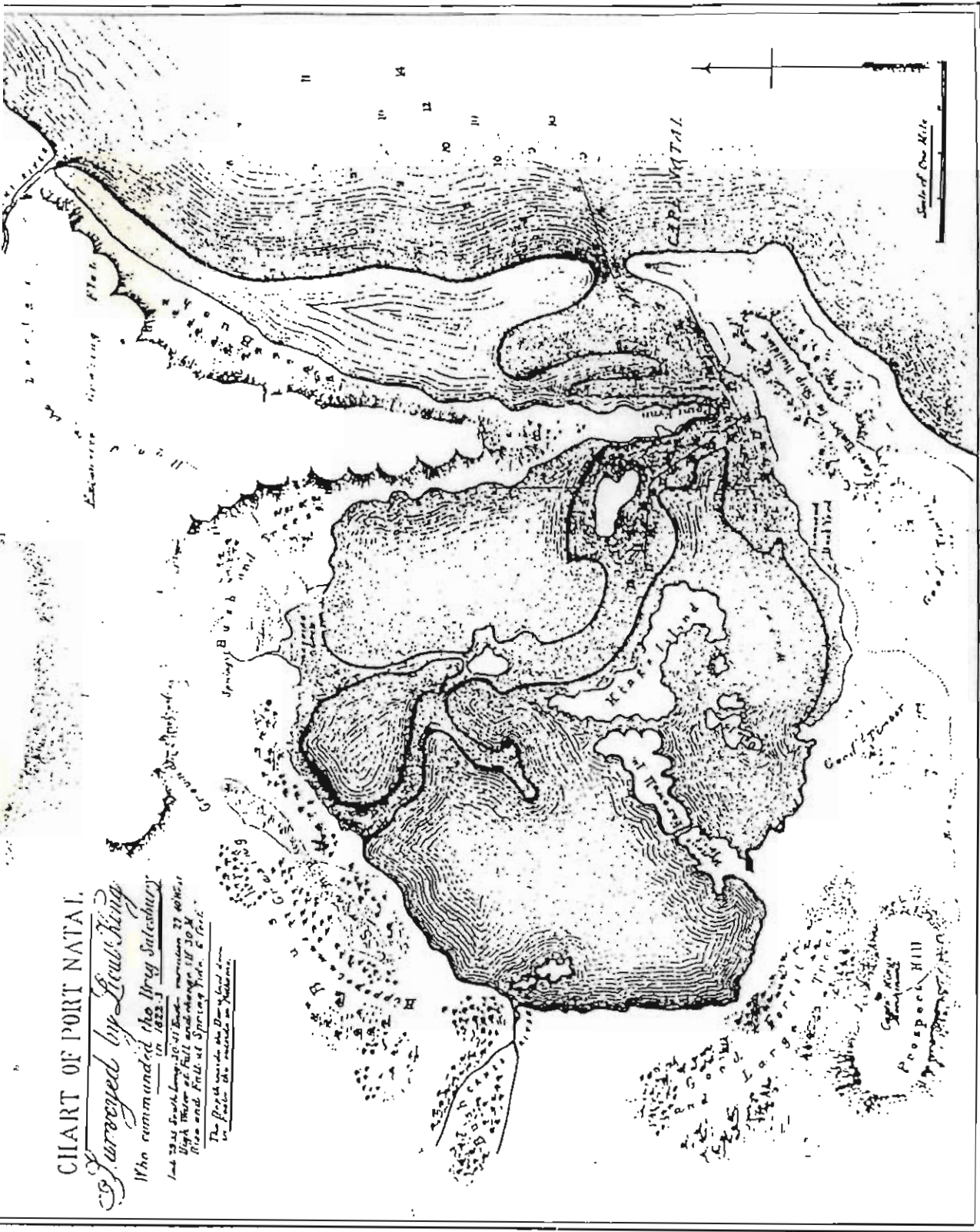
# CHART OF PORT NATAL.

*Surveyed by Lieut. King*

*Who commanded the brig Salisbury*

*1822.*  
*Lat. 29.4 South Long. 30.11 East. meridian 27 40 N. 11*  
*High Water at Full and change 11 30 M*  
*Low and Flood at Spring Tides 6 P.M.*

*The British vessels the Dromedary and the*  
*in 1822 the vessels in the harbor.*



Probably the earliest  
 chart of Port Natal was  
 drawn in 1822 by Lieut.  
 King who commanded the  
 brig Salisbury. It shows that  
 where the centre of the city  
 is today there were then  
 swamps skirted by bush and  
 trees. Glenwood was a "hip-  
 namus growing ground".

Source: George Russell, History  
 of Old Durban!

Front, is piece.



Western power were introduced to colonial cities of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, whether in Africa, Asia, or in middle America. This has relevance for the colonial African city of Durban. Transplanted British families did represent an industrialised European colonial power in this alien corner of the globe. Durban came to mirror arrangements in the mother country. The British settlers who occupied the chosen geographical site of Durban did modify its physical-spatial appearance in their dominant position with 'city-based control'.<sup>2</sup> Such modifications made, were modelled on the metropolitan city to suit the form or 'level' of social, political, economic and technological organisation and development with which they were familiar with.

'Technology is a cultural product and political systems depend upon other things, on the values and beliefs of a culture and the political and economic relationship they foster with other societies.'<sup>3</sup>

With this particular society's cultural values, social power and technology, which appear to be the most useful variables for predicting the changing patterns within the modern city, that is, one built upon the industrial and scientific revolution,<sup>4</sup> the sand-swept flat of Durban was transformed in the wake of this revolutionary process of urbanisation into the makings of a proud city. This was clearly portrayed in the colonial environment built by the British settlers. The appearance of a colonial 'British town' as discussed in Chapter 4, is a considered factor in the urban

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<sup>2</sup> De Bruijne, 'The Colonial City and the Post-Colonial World', in Ross and Telkamp (eds.), Colonial Cities: Essays on Urbanism in a Colonial Context, p.233.

<sup>3</sup> King, Colonial Urban Development, p.29.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., pp.30-3.



environment and had image-making qualities.

'The town will grow and change and may develop into a large city: buildings will be rebuilt. If, however, the original image was well founded it will continue to give direction and character to its locality. It will remain an image. The original idea will come through strongly and clearly in spite of discordant buildings. This image, this idea, will give pleasure because it is a positive contribution to the appearance of the city.'<sup>5</sup>

The succeeding chapters elaborate further on the physical and spatial form of Durban as discussed in Chapter 4. In a grossly over-simplified way how the colonial settlement expressed the physical, spatial and social forms of the industrial city which, in turn, result from the use of inanimate sources of energy - steam-power, electricity, and, in the twentieth century, the internal combustion engine, rather than man and animal power. The outcome has been already mentioned in the Preface. It is a blend of elements: first, that which is Western or culturally 'British'; second, that which conforms to the capitalist-industrial technological order as applied to the local Durban environment by the controlling British settler elite; and, third, that which is colonial in the sense of representing a dominance/dependence political relationship. Thus, in the explanation of the social and spatial structure of the South African colonial city of Durban on the larger environment, it is essential that the three variables, briefly summarised as culture, technology and the power structure of colonialism, which to King are 'inherent in the concept of colonialism'<sup>6</sup>, are acknowledged. These three heuristic aids as applied in furthering an understanding of the social structure of colonial cities in the process of urbanization were therefore also utilized in the Durban context.

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<sup>5</sup> L.T. Toft, 'A Comparative Study of the South African Urban Scene', in Watts (ed.), Focus on Cities, p.88.

<sup>6</sup> King, Colonial Urban Development, p.34.

This picture of Fynnlands by James West shows ships at the point in about 1851. The picture, with others was exhibited at Durban's first art show about that time.



The Mercury's Durban 150th Anniversary Supplement, 24 May 1974.

Steamships linked the British Empire with Durban. Railways (for major bulk carrying, once they were fully developed by the end of the nineteenth-century), united Durban with the hinterland and coastline of South Africa. Durban's commercial importance, with her seaport function of import and export, was, as a result, magnified.

Technology has been used in this chapter as an heuristic aid for studying the structure of the colonial city of Durban. A significant physical-spatial area forming part of Durban, namely the port, is highlighted. Harbour improvements, aided by (British) applied technology, made possible the rise of Durban as an international seaport.

Earlier trade, whether in wool, sugar, or in minerals, coal, diamonds or later gold (mentioned in Chapter 1), created a small class of wealthy men in colonial Durban and a larger class of 'working men'. This commercial elite were to wield great economic power. They also sought political power, not only in Durban as representatives of the Durban Town Council, but also in Durban County as representatives in the Natal Government and in some sense thus constituted the top layer in colonial Durban society - an urban upper middle class. Their role in administrative local and central government was always considerable, and they were able to exert 'influence' and to benefit from it. Durban was not a collection of separate individuals, but a network of colonial elite families, each with its own history, who had close personal relationships, through friends and marriage (discussed in Chapter 3). They contributed to Durban's urban development by fostering stronger links with the hinterland and the outside world. This well-to-do class, who controlled the local economy, shared a sense of growth. George Christopher Cato, who became Durban's first Mayor in 1854, and was a representative of

Durban mercantile interests, stressed the importance, as early as 1849<sup>7</sup> of harbour improvements to improve trade. The outcome was that a start was made on future harbour improvements. The Natal Government appointed in 1850 the first (British) engineer, John Milne.<sup>8</sup> He and successive engineers (as will be discussed), would, with their technological expertise, develop the harbour physically. Technology (British), so applied, made the necessary changes and the physical-spatial structure of Durban was changed. Such improvements to Durban harbour gained momentum as the nineteenth century drew to a close. Bigger ships handling more cargo were able safely to enter Durban harbour by 1910:

'The Union-Castle mail boats, several over 13 000 tons gross and 570 feet in length, and the White Star liners, drawing 30 feet and 550 feet in length, now regularly work alongside the wharf and experience no difficulty whatever in entering or leaving the harbour.'<sup>9</sup>

'Harbour change' took place in this colonial period in three stages. These changes were defined by the problems which hampered the shipping trade and efficiency of the harbour (more water depth, wharfage and later repair facilities). These became a ruling consideration. The first stage saw the development of a tidal scouring system (coupled with dredging) to solve the problem of the blocked-up harbour entrance, which restricted shipping movements in and out of the harbour. Bigger ships needed deeper water to enter Durban harbour safely, berth comfortably, off-load, and leave again. How successive engineers have dealt with the sand problems of Durban

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<sup>7</sup> L. Heydenrych, 'Port Natal Harbour, c. 1850-1897', in Guest and Sellers (eds.), Enterprise and Exploitation in a Victorian Colony, p.19.

<sup>8</sup> D.P.F. Horwood (ed.), 'The Port of Durban', NRS, 15, (Durban, Department of Economics, University of Natal, 1969), p.6.

<sup>9</sup> Tatlow, Descriptive Guide, p.28.

harbour to achieve a deepwater trade has been extensively covered by Owen Horwood 'The Port of Durban'<sup>10</sup> and Lucille Heydenrych 'Port Natal Harbour, c. 1850-1897',<sup>11</sup> and will be only briefly discussed.

The second stage was characterized by certain problems attendant upon the growth of the harbour, notably by the need to improve the situation of a lack of proper inner-harbour (berthage) facilities for landing cargo and passengers. An attempt has been made in this chapter to provide only a brief glimpse of such improvements made in the colonial period. The sand problem was supposedly solved in this period, but that ongoing dredging and maintenance of the piers are still in fact constantly undertaken, is commonly known. The period of complacency during which colonial Natalians could congratulate themselves on having finally solved their harbour entrance problem, was relatively brief. As the volume of trade increased, congestion of sea traffic was experienced inside and outside the harbour, due to the lack of adequate berthage facilities.

The third stage included changes made to Durban harbour to meet the competitive challenge of other harbours which offered repair facilities to damaged ships. This service was mainly introduced in the last decade of the colonial period (an ongoing process in the post-colonial period), and will be only briefly mentioned. The marvels of engineering started to solve some of the technical problems hampering trade. These problems were serious enough, but were more easily solved than the rivalries of politicians, which cropped up from time to time to create controversies over Durban

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<sup>10</sup> Horwood, 'Port of Durban', pp.5-15.

<sup>11</sup> L. Heydenrych, 'Port Natal Harbour', in Guest and Sellers (eds ), Enterprise and Exploitation in a Victorian Colony, pp. 16-45.

harbour. This was especially the case in the period dealt with by E.G. Hobson's 'The Effect of Durban Harbour on Natal's Politics, 1874-1898',<sup>12</sup> as well as in the last decade of the colonial period. This aspect will be referred to only.

That the transition or expansion of this harbour on the eastern coastline of South Africa, from shallow lagoon to deepwater harbour in just over half a century, allowing bigger ships to enter, happened despite these controversies, has to be appreciated within the historical context of an evolving trade. Where people went, trade followed and people were, after all, the levers of change. With the predominantly British permanent settlement<sup>13</sup> in this geographical area of Natal from the mid-nineteenth century, the ball was set rolling for the development of this seaport-city and harbour alike. British trade,<sup>14</sup> following the settlement of the 1 204 Whites by 1854<sup>15</sup> (when Durban achieved town status),<sup>16</sup> brought the overseas market closer. Steam communication had been opened between England and the Cape, wrote George Russell in History of Old Durban in 1852,<sup>17</sup> from where mails and passengers were brought on to

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<sup>12</sup> E.G. Hobson, 'The Effect of Durban Harbour on Natal's Politics, 1874-1898' (unpublished B.A. Hons. essay, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, 1961), pp. 1-3. See Horwood 'Port of Durban', pp.7-15; L. Heydenrych 'Port Natal Harbour', in Guest and Sellers (eds.), Enterprise and Exploitation in a Victorian Colony, pp.22-39.

<sup>13</sup> Palmer, Forty Years in Natal, p.5; Hattersley, The Natal Settlers 1847-1851, p.35; The British Settlement of Natal, p.315.

<sup>14</sup> See Appendix J: Table 5 & 6. as taken from Horwood 'Port of Durban', p.128.

<sup>15</sup> Natal Mercury, 7 June 1854. Other races were only included in the census taken after 1862.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 3 May 1854.

<sup>17</sup> Russell, Old Durban, p.154.



Durban.

'...as the trade increased, direct vessels, brigs and schooners of the Douglas, Mazeppa, Gem, Rosebud, or Wanderer type, ran regularly between Cape Town and Port Natal. Emigrant and other ships direct from England also brought mails...' <sup>18</sup>

George Cato<sup>19</sup> and Edward Snell led the way in fostering a coastal trade at the time.<sup>20</sup> Snell even had the first steamer built on the foreshore of the Bay in 1852, between Acutt Street and Beach Walk. It sailed under the British flag. This schooner, christened by his wife with her own name, 'Leontine Mary', and registered in Port Elizabeth as of 28 tons capacity, (since Port Natal was not a port of registry), made many successful trips along the coastline and even to Mauritius.<sup>21</sup>

John Millar's Company had a warehouse on the western side of Durban's Market Square (approved of by the Natal Government on 1 November 1853), built in 1854 'for the Deposit of Goods in Bond at this Port', 'without payment of duty'.<sup>22</sup> Millar also initiated the first consignment of a full return cargo on the schooner, 'Siren', the first vessel to leave the harbour on 5 September 1855 loaded with colonial produce for England.<sup>23</sup> The 'Siren's cargo gave a general exhibition of the resources of Natal (estimated worth £10 874). The largest item was wool, of which there were 416 bales. Also

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> Leverton, 'George Christopher Cato', in Dictionary of South African Biography, 2, pp.126-7.

<sup>20</sup> Russell, Old Durban, pp.158-9.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., p.159.

<sup>22</sup> NGG, vol.V, no.256, 8 November 1853: Bonded Warehouse.

<sup>23</sup> Russell, Old Durban, p.251.

included were six tons of ivory, and a large quantity of wood, tallow, hides, arrowroot, a sample shipment of Natal sugar and some miscellaneous produce. The historical occasion was appropriately celebrated with a dinner on board on 28 August at which the settler elite of the town were well represented.

'...John Millar, Esq., the senior partner of the firm of the Agents and Consignees of the vessel, presided over the festivities of the occasion and, besides the body of merchants, the Resident Magistrate of the County of Durban; His Worship the Mayor, and the Post Master General.'<sup>24</sup>

The 'Siren', which made a return voyage from England on 31 August 1856, discharged and reloaded with a second full colonial cargo valued at £9 000 for London, but had to wait five days before she could depart, because 'the Bar was pronounced too rough to cross.'<sup>25</sup> Such delays time and again accentuated the necessity of upgrading Durban harbour's facilities for shipping.

Improvements made to Durban harbour to accommodate a growing trade has also to be appreciated in the light of a growing population, with numbers swelling through natural increase, migration and immigration. A total population count of 4 463 for Durban in 1862, showed 2 567 Whites, 1 593 Africans and 153 Asiatics (the Coloured population was counted with the Asiatics.) The count would reach the figure of 64 689 by 1910, which included all races.<sup>26</sup> This growing population, who clustered in the port city of Durban, and who generated this evolving trade, made Durban harbour's intermediary function, acting as the interlocking economic and social connection

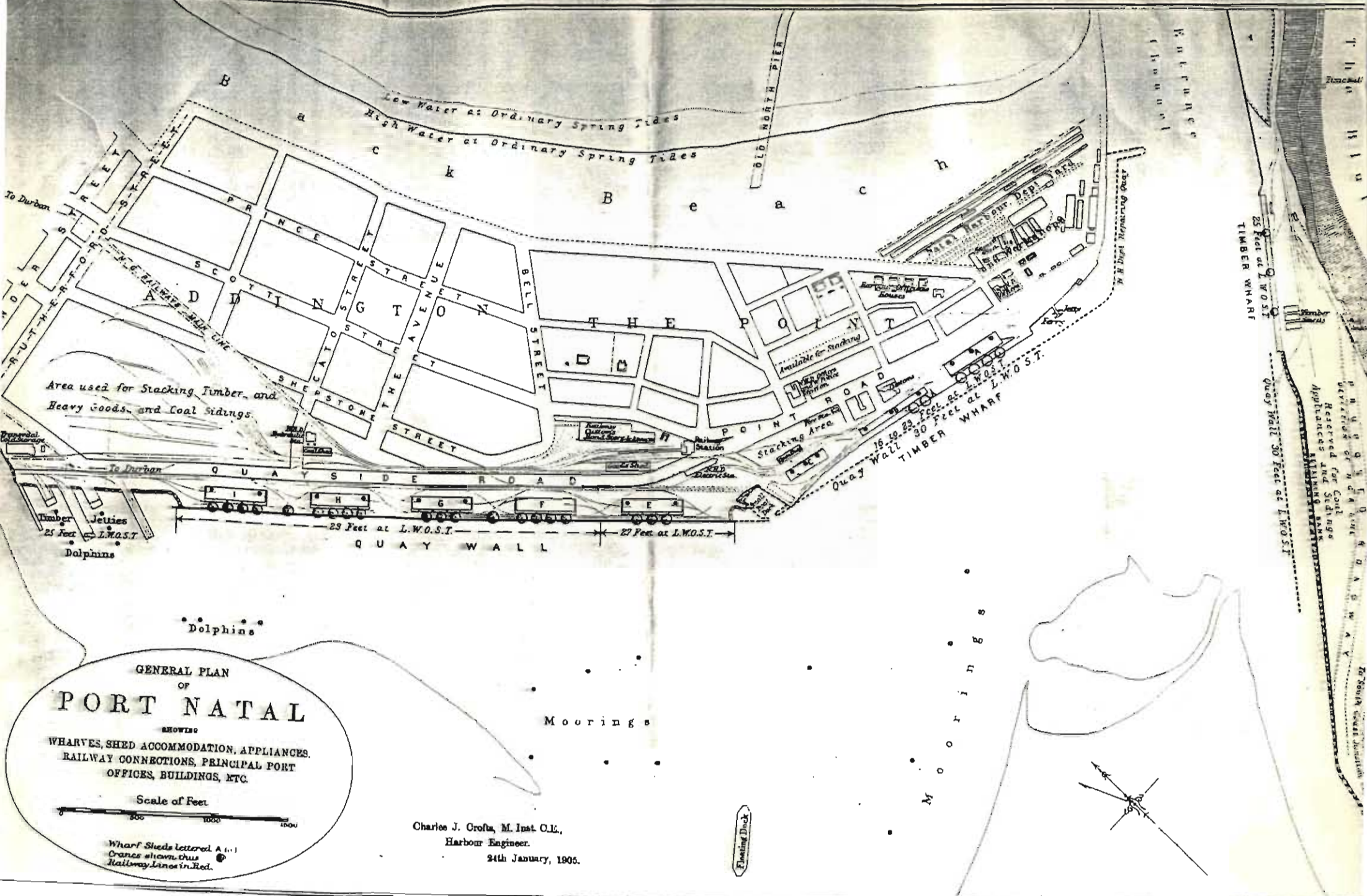
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<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., p.286.

<sup>26</sup> See Appendix J: Table 7a and b.

Figure 5



# GENERAL PLAN OF PORT NATAL

SHOWING  
WHARVES, SHED ACCOMMODATION, APPLIANCES,  
RAILWAY CONNECTIONS, PRINCIPAL PORT  
OFFICES, BUILDINGS, ETC.



Wharf Sheds lettered A...  
Cranes shown thus  
Railway lines in Red.

Charles J. Crofts, M. Inst. C.E.,  
Harbour Engineer.  
24th January, 1905.

Floating Dock

between Britain and Durban, workable, and thereby they also naturally fostered greater cultural and political ties with Britain.

With the appropriate siting of the embryo town of Durban adjacent to the harbour, arteries of roads and rails would develop with the port as terminal point. From the landing site at the Point, a carrier system for the transport of people and goods to the central marketing area would develop - an original connecting link of Smith Street with the road to the Point. This carrier system would include railways, tramways, omnibus, a ricksha service and oxwagons as principal modes of transport. Point Road, as a result, was to become so congested that an alternative Quayside Road was opened in 1901.<sup>27</sup> Some of the traffic burden was hereby relieved.

Transportation to and from the harbour became as vital as loading and unloading of the ships. Transport and Durban harbour improvements can therefore not be seen in isolation. This link of sea trade with land trade that the harbour provided acted as a form giver to the colonial port city of Durban's townscape and unified Durban harbour physically with the townscape. It was after all in the harbour's improvement and consequent expansion, initiated by leaders in settler society and carried out by engineers with technological expertise, that the town of Durban's future lay. The colonial city of Durban has developed mainly because of its port. The uncertain harbour entrance and lack of berthing space made improvements, as mentioned before, necessary. The problems were tackled in piecemeal fashion

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<sup>27</sup> See Figure 5. See NGG, vol.LIII, no.391, 5 March 1901: Charles Crofts (C.E.) to Secretary, Minister of Land and Works, 26/2/1901; *ibid.*, pp.859-60; D.C. Davey (Acting Engineer) to Secretary, Minister of Land and Works, 2/6/1901; *ibid.*, pp.1053-4, 23/6/1901.

and port facilities were upgraded in accordance with the requirements of trade. Attainment of a depth of 10,8 metres by 1909, which allowed bigger ships of heavier tonnage to enter the harbour, was an achievement and stepping stone to progress. British engineers aided by technology, were responsible for physically changing Durban harbour, making it possible for a deepwater sea trade to be successfully conducted here. This transition in the colonial period has been divided into outer expansion (piers or breakwaters/dredgers) and inner expansion of Durban harbour (berths/wharfage facilities).

The outer expansion of Port Natal can be divided into the first three decades, namely from 1850-1880, and the last three decades, 1880-1910. The first three decades involved three main engineering figures, namely, John Milne, Capt. Vetch and Jonathan Coode. John Milne, a Scottish engineer, was of the opinion that the true mode of improvement was to alter the shape of the harbour.<sup>28</sup> He initiated the idea of a pier system. This would protect the harbour from its southern exposure to the wave action of the open sea and at the same time divert the littoral sand drift, which still plagues the Eastern coastline of South Africa.<sup>29</sup> The harbour entrance would be sufficiently narrowed by taking this precautionary measure to concentrate the tidal scour action (ebb-tide) into a more manageable channel, which of course would reduce the Bar. By employing the

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<sup>28</sup> GH 34; no. 84: J. Scott to Newcastle, Secretary of State, 9 November 1857, Enclosure, Port Natal, Memorandum and Precis of Plans and Documents forwarded by Colonial Office, July 1858. Inclusive: General Data Furnished by John Milne, C.E., pp.8-12.

<sup>29</sup> South African Panorama, February 1965 (The Battle Against the Bar), pp.37-41.

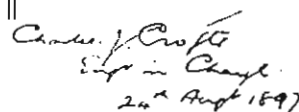


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## Breakwater (Pier) Schemes

SIR CHARLES HARTLEY, AND J.W. BARRY'S SCHEME MEANS THUS

### SCALE



NOTE - The figured dimension 450 feet shows approximately the length of North Pier in the Hartley - Barry Scheme which will not be under the lee of the Breakwater, and therefore exposed to the full force of the seas.



natural force of the ebb-tide<sup>30</sup> through building these permanent structures, a deepwater harbour entrance would be safeguarded. Milne did not manage to build his short South Pier and managed to complete only a short section of the North Pier before his dismissal in 1858.<sup>31</sup> He had become the first victim of the controversial viewpoints on Durban harbour which existed among Natal Government politicians.<sup>32</sup>

The Board of eight Commissioners, with wide powers, formed and enacted by Ordinance 3 in March 1855 for better regulation and improvements to the harbour<sup>33</sup> was obviously also dominated by the colonial elite, and included, for example George Cato, who served as Commissioner in his capacity as Lloyd's Agent from 1852 (on and off till 1890).<sup>34</sup> He functioned as Commissioner in his capacity as Durban's Mayor for the second term in 1855. (He returned to the Council and remained a Town Councillor till 1860 when he resigned).<sup>35</sup> Cato had the power, in accordance with this Ordinance, to appoint two Councillors. This decree, Ordinance 3, was repealed

<sup>30</sup> L. Heydenrych 'Port Natal', in Guest and Sellers (eds ), Enterprise and Exploitation in a Victorian Colony, pp. 19-20; Russell, Old Durban, pp.260-1.

<sup>31</sup> See Figure 4. Horwood, 'Port of Durban', p.7; Russell, Old Durban, pp.260-1.

<sup>32</sup> Hobson, 'The Effect of Durban Harbour on Natal Politics, 1874-1898', p.3; Natal Mercury, 16 October 1937: Durban's First Attempt at Sand Control.

<sup>33</sup> NGG, vol.VII, no.328, 3 March 1855: Ordinance No.3, 1855; ibid., vol.VI, no. 312, 12 December 1854: Draft Ordinance. See Leverton, 'George Christopher Cato', in Dictionary of South African Biography, 2, p.127.

<sup>34</sup> Spencer, British Settlers, vol.4, pp.57-9. Cato was appointed Lloyd's Agent on 17 June 1850.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

by the binding injunction of Law no.9, 1861<sup>36</sup> and the Natal Government then exercised full powers till 1877. By Law no.13, 1877, an elected Board of Commissioners was created, with the name of the 'Harbour Board of Natal', again with wide powers.<sup>37</sup> Cato as Port Captain (till 1872 and again in 1881)<sup>38</sup> served as Commissioner for many years. Law No.29, 1880, constituted a new Harbour Board reduced to seven Commissioners, which repealed all previous laws. The Natal Government then appointed four Commissioners, the Durban Town Council two and the Pietermaritzburg Town Council one.<sup>39</sup> From 1875 to 1880, Cato also served as Member of the Legislative Council.<sup>40</sup>

The services of Captain Vetch with George Abernethy as Resident Engineer, financed by British capital,<sup>41</sup> were employed in the 1860s. George Cato's enthusiasm for improving the harbour led him mistakenly to advise the Natal Government to accept Vetch's scheme.<sup>42</sup> Vetch, the second appointed engineer, also believed in a

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<sup>36</sup> NGB, vol.XIII, no.670, 27 August 1861, p.323; Law No.9, 1861; *ibid.*, vol.XIV, no. 697, 4 March 1862, p.57: Proclamation.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, vol.XXIX, no.1677, 20 November 1877, p.1677; Law no.13, 1877; *ibid.*, vol.XXVIII, no.1570, 29 February 1876, pp.145-6: Proclamation.

<sup>38</sup> Spencer, British Settlers, vol.4, pp.57-9.

<sup>39</sup> Natal Witness, 5 December 1881. The Board lasted till 1894, with Harry Escombe as the driving force behind Durban's harbour development. See L. Heydenrych 'Port Natal', in Guest and Sellers (eds.), Enterprise and Exploitation in a Victorian Colony, p.30.

<sup>40</sup> Spencer, British Settlers, vol.4, p.59.

<sup>41</sup> Horwood, 'Port of Durban', pp.7-8. Lieutenant-Governor Scott negotiated a loan of £165 000 for Harbour Works in London in 1860. See L. Heydenrych 'Port Natal', in Guest and Sellers (eds.), Enterprise and Exploitation in a Victorian Colony, pp.23-5.

<sup>42</sup> Leventon, 'George Christopher Cato', in Dictionary of South African Biography, 2, p.127. The harbour also acquired a port boat which had been specially built under Cato's personal supervision.

pier system.<sup>43</sup> He started his North Pier more or less opposite present-day Addington Hospital, while his South Pier was to lead out from Cave Rock on the Bluff. The scheme was abandoned after four years due to default by the contractor.<sup>44</sup> With an improved financial climate after a major economic fluctuation during the mid-sixties caused by extraordinary political, economic and social events within and outside the borders of Natal,<sup>45</sup> more unnecessarily costly construction on the harbour was undertaken in 1870 by the Natal Government to implement Vetch's scheme, but without success.<sup>46</sup>

Jonathan Coode, who was the third of the appointed British engineers, had proposed a continuation of the pier system.<sup>47</sup> This met with the obstructionism of the young lawyer, Harry Escombe, who for many years acted as solicitor to the colonial elite making up the body of the Durban Town Council. Escombe, then at the start of his political career, pointed out that Coode was a money-spinner in contrast to himself, who was a saviour, preventing wasteful expenditure.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> See Figure 4. See Daily News, 13 September 1954 (The Story of Vetch's Pier); Natal Mercury, 16 October 1937 (Cameos of Durban History); Durban Local History Museum: Files 547-54797: Railways, Harbours, Bridges and Engineering: George Thompson 'A Paper on the Durban Bar Problem', 7 December 1891. The latter, also an engineer, favoured Vetch's idea of a South Breakwater extending from Cave Rock, explaining that it 'would not have had so much finality about it as the present South Breakwater has...'.  
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<sup>44</sup> GH 1215, no.61: Scott to Cardwell, 10 December 1864.

<sup>45</sup> The Natal Almanac. Directory & Yearly Register, 1867, p.III.

<sup>46</sup> Horwood 'Fort of Durban', p.8.

<sup>47</sup> See Figure 4. L. Heydenrych, 'Port Natal', in Guest and Sellers (eds ), Enterprise and Exploitation in a Victorian Colony, pp.26-9.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.; Hobson 'The Effect of Durban Harbour on Natal's Politics, 1874-1898', pp.8-16.

Horwood wrote in 'Port of Durban' that there was some unfair comment brought to bear against Coode. For instance, a colonial engineer was to point out ten years later

'... that Coode's charge would have been inclusive, whereas later schemes seemed to make an endless demand on the Treasury. It is also true that some of Coode's ideas were ridiculed by the same people who later adopted them.'<sup>49</sup>

Horwood also speculatively wrote:

There were also vested interests which opposed improvements, such as the contractors who off-loaded vessels outside the Bar and conveyed goods to the wharf in lighters, by no means cheaply, and landowners who feared they would lose property by harbour extensions.'<sup>50</sup>

Such speculation is of interest and invites comment. While a few agents may have made money, it was obvious that greater profit would come with a larger volume of trade and this depended on harbour improvement. Some of the colonial elite who owned property in this valuable area of Addington should be mentioned, for example, Harry Escombe and Mayor John Nicol.<sup>51</sup> Other Mayors who had invested as early as 1855 in property leading to the Point in this Eastern part of town, were G.C. Cato, William Palmer, Savery Pinsent and Alexander McArthur.<sup>52</sup> Proprietors E. Pickering, W. Arbuckle, jnr., A.W. Evans, H.W. Currie, Edward Snell, nephew to ex-Mayor E. Snell, as well as the business alliance of Hunt, Leuchars and Hepburn, owned large sections of this developing area recorded as 'Point Road

<sup>49</sup> Horwood 'Port of Durban', p.9.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

<sup>51</sup> NSG: Supplement, vol.XXXIII, no. 1872, 8 March 1881: Valuation Roll of Durban Borough 1877, pp.162-83.

<sup>52</sup> Natal Mercury, 24 January 1855: Valuation List of Rateable Property.

Extension'.<sup>53</sup> Also E.L. Acutt and W.E. Roberts jointly owned land in Erskine Terrace.<sup>54</sup>

Two examples recorded in 1850 of Landing Agents with vested interest in lighters or surfboats which off-loaded ships outside the bar and brought in the cargo were G.C. Cato and J.F. Kahts.<sup>55</sup> Cato was known to encourage improvements. Cato and Kahts (as mentioned in Chapter 4) also became the first Agents in Durban who established an Insurance Company (the Natal Fire Insurance and Trust Company), on 11 April 1849. Cato was the first Manager.<sup>56</sup> Another Marine Insurance Company Agent recorded, was William Palmer. He thanked 'the mercantile community for their support and confidence during the past three years', (i.e. from 1862).<sup>57</sup> Those recorded in 1879 were Ballance and Goodliffe,<sup>58</sup> William Palmer, and E. Snell in West Street,<sup>59</sup> as well as the companies recorded in 1900 of J. Goodliffe, and again of William Palmer and Son.<sup>60</sup> These Mayors or Councillors, who gained benefit from the risky situation ships faced in entering Durban harbour, or at outer anchorage where they were

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<sup>53</sup> NGB: Supplement, vol.XXXIII, no.1872, 8 March 1881: Valuation Roll of Durban Borough, pp.162-83: See Natal Mercury, 26 December 1884; Natal Advertiser: Supplement, 8 October 1896, 24 October 1899, and 10 September 1909.

<sup>54</sup> MSCE 19/4: Deceased Estate of William Roberts, 1903: Included Inventory and Appraisement, 1913.

<sup>55</sup> Russell, Old Durban, p.84.

<sup>56</sup> NGB, vol.VI, no.285, 30 May 1854: Natal Fire Assurance and Trust Company.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., vol.XXXIV, no.358, 6 September 1864, p.358.

<sup>58</sup> The Natal Almanac Directory and Yearly Register, 1880: Commercial Directory, pp.365-66.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., 1900: Trade Directory, pp.360-66.

exposed to heavy seas, obviously made hay while the sun shone. The situation deteriorated to such an extent that even freight charges and the rate of insurance in these early years were more than that charged between Britain and the Cape. <sup>41</sup>

'Durban's outer anchorage soon acquired the reputation of being a graveyard for ships. No fewer than 66 ships were blown ashore on Durban's South Beach between 1845 and 1885.' <sup>42</sup>

Mayor William Hartley made his fortune with peppercorns from a shipwreck off Addington<sup>43</sup> (as mentioned in Chapter 3). He next started up as a soft goods merchant and opened the Durban Bank as a proprietor in 1862.<sup>44</sup> This does not imply however, that the few agents who made a killing when opportunities presented themselves were against harbour improvements on which obviously a larger volume of trade depended and which would in the long run prove to be more profitable.

These first three decades, nevertheless, highlighted Milne's idea of a pier system as a permanent structure for the outer expansion of Port Natal. Hereby natural forces, namely the ebb-tide, would be used to scour away the sandbar that was blocking the harbour entrance. Only the start of Milne's North Pier (less than 150

<sup>41</sup> L. Haydenrych 'Port Natal', in Guest and Sellers (eds ), Enterprise and Exploitation in a Victorian Colony, p.21.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., p.19.

<sup>43</sup> Russell, History of Old Durban, pp.195-6.

<sup>44</sup> NGG, vol.XIV, no.733, 18 November 1862, p.486: Durban Bank. See Leverton, 'William Hartley', in Dictionary of South African Biography, 3, p.379.



metres), however, was originally included in the further outer expansion of Port Natal. In the last three decades of the colonial period major development would see the completion of the outer works, as well as major improvements to the inner harbour (berthage, wharfage), and a start made with repair facilities.

Despite the slow commencement of harbour works in the earlier period, economic growth (as mentioned in Chapter 4), was still evident in the increasing trade conducted through the port, valued at £51 000 in 1845 and £495 000 in 1860 and at £3,2 million in 1880. After 1867 when the North coast was linked by rail to Durban harbour, sugar exports increased and were valued in 1880 at £215 000, a quarter of the total value of Natal's exports.<sup>45</sup> More job opportunities for the Durban population were provided by such economic growth. This had increased from 4 463 (including 2 567 Whites) in 1862 to 14 209 (including 7 454 Whites) in 1881. Durban had by then become the third largest city in southern Africa.<sup>46</sup>

The newly constituted Harbour Board formed in 1881<sup>47</sup> was endowed with wide powers and had land which could be leased at Addington, the Point and the Bluff. All rents and revenue acquired by them from these lands were to be applied 'for the improvement of the Port and Harbour of Natal'.<sup>48</sup> The 'Colonial Auditor was virtually

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<sup>45</sup> Christopher, 'The Natal Coastal Belt', in *Contree*, 2, pp.5-11; Richardson, 'The Natal Sugar Industry, 1849-1905: An Interpretative Essay', in Guest and Sellers (eds.), *Enterprise and Exploitation in a Victorian Colony*, pp.181-97.

<sup>46</sup> See Appendix J: Table 5.

<sup>47</sup> *NGG*, vol.XXXIII, no.1863, 11 January 1881, pp.21-2; Law no.29, 1880. See L. Heydenrych, 'Fort Natal', in Guest and Sellers (eds.), *Enterprise and Exploitation in a Victorian Colony*, pp.30-1.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*

excluded from control of these funds.<sup>69</sup> Some critics even remarked that 'all the fishes in the Bay had to get a licence from the Harbour Board to swim about.'<sup>70</sup> Not only was Harry Escombe elected Chairman of the new Harbour Board, but members of the governing settler elite, namely Mayor William Arbuckle, two Durban Councillors (plus one from Pietermaritzburg), as well as G.C. Cato as Lloyd's Agent, were also elected.

The Harbour Board appointed Edward Innes, another Scottish engineer and ex-pupil of Jonathan Coode, in September 1881. With the backing of Escombe, (who, with vested interests in the shipping trade, took Port Natal's development very seriously),<sup>71</sup> Innes was permitted, enabled by sufficient funds raised by the Harbour Board, to advance the outer works which coped directly with the Bar itself.<sup>72</sup> The Legislative Council, despite criticism from the British Government, supported the Board and 'sanctioned the spending of £75 000 on harbour works within the first three years of its existence.'<sup>73</sup> The labour force alone amounted to more than 600 by 1883.<sup>74</sup> Backing by the Natal Government was a foregone conclusion, considering that many of Durban's prominent leaders were Members of the Legislative Council; for example, William Hartley was elected in 1875 and

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<sup>69</sup> Ibid.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

<sup>71</sup> Horwood, 'Port of Durban', p.10.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid. See Figure 4. See Durban Local History Museum: Files 547-54797: Railways, Harbours, Bridges and Engineering: Visual material of the piers, wharves, & general views.

<sup>73</sup> L. Heydenrych, 'Port Natal', in Guest and Sellers (eds ), Enterprize and Exploitation in a Victorian Colony, p.32.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid.

and served on that body until 1893. Overseas he championed the Natal colonists against adverse British criticism 'by claiming that the underdog in Natal would never be badly treated.'<sup>75</sup> William Arbuckle junior was elected to the Natal Legislative Council in 1884 as the representative of Durban County but because of business commitments did not retain his seat for long.<sup>76</sup> Benjamin Greenacre was first returned to the Natal Legislative Council in 1877, and with J. Robinson and H. Escombe represented the Durban constituency on and off for seventeen years, on two occasions being returned without opposition to the Natal Legislative Council. Greenacre retired from active political service only at the end of the first parliament, in 1897.<sup>77</sup> George Payne was also elected to the Legislative Assembly for Durban Borough and became Treasurer in the Ministry of A. Hime in February 1902,<sup>78</sup> along with George Cato, mentioned before, who served as the representative member of the Durban Borough on the Legislative Council from 1875 to 1880.<sup>79</sup> Prior to this date, William Field served on the Legislative Council from when he was returned as the Member for Durban County in the election of June 1871. He retained his seat in the 1873 election and remaining as a

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<sup>75</sup> Leverton, 'William Hartley', in Dictionary of South African Biography, 3, p.378.

<sup>76</sup> Leverton, '(Sir) William Arbuckle', in *ibid.*, 3, p.29. In 1893 under the system of Responsible Government he was nominated to the Upper House of the Natal Parliament, and under the H. Binns Ministry of 1897 accepted the post of Treasurer till 1902. In that year he became Chairman of the Natal Legislative Council. Three years later he was made Agent-General in London for the Natal Government where he also stood up for Natal affairs. His London post only became redundant with the coming of Union.

<sup>77</sup> Leverton, '(Sir) Benjamin Wesley Greenacre', in *ibid.*, 3, pp.344-5.

<sup>78</sup> Leverton, 'George Payne', in *ibid.*, 3, pp.677-8.

<sup>79</sup> Spencer, British Settlers, vol.4, p.57.

member until the election of October 1877.<sup>80</sup> As previously mentioned in Chapter 4, Anthony King in Colonial Urban Development, stressed that there was rarely in the colonial city an urban management problem, as planning authority and vested interests were one and the same thing.<sup>81</sup>

The use of dredgers, introduced in 1884,<sup>82</sup> in conjunction with the piers, was regarded by successive engineers in these last three decades as the solution to combat Fort Natal's sand problem. By the time of the untimely death of Innes in 1887, a depth of 3.23 metres had been attained at the harbour entrance.<sup>83</sup> Consolidation of the colonial port city of Durban's position as the 'dominant urban centre of Natal'<sup>84</sup> (referred to in Chapter 4) came with the discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand in 1886, as extensive railway development (referred to in Chapter 7) linked Durban harbour with the mining towns.

'While shipping in the port had dropped to only 285 in 1886, it rose to 555 in 1889. Moreover, the number of sailing-ships of small tonnage increased and, in consequence, imports and customs revenue also rose sharply'.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> Ibid., vol.6, p.125.

<sup>81</sup> King, Colonial Urban Development, pp.30-6.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid., p.34; Tatlow, Descriptive Guide, p.30; Natal Mercury, 27 June 1935.

<sup>83</sup> Horwood, 'Port of Durban', p.11.

<sup>84</sup> T.J.D. Fair, 'Durban - Its Sphere of Influence as a Regional Capital', in South African Geographical Journal, 31, pp.90-2.

<sup>85</sup> L. Heydenrych 'Port Natal', in Guest and Sellers, (eds ), Enterprise and Exploitation in a Victorian Colony, p.33.

An amount of £140 000 raised under Loan Law No.25 of 1887 was allocated mainly to harbour and railway works.<sup>84</sup> The increase in revenue from the railways alone, which became the largest source of Natal Government revenue, contributing £745 703 from July 1895 to June 1896,<sup>87</sup> stimulated major expansion of the town and harbour with a predominance of British trade-share.<sup>88</sup> The Durban population count at Union of 69 165<sup>89</sup> (as mentioned before in Chapter 4) made Durban not only the most densely populated town on the Natal coastal belt (many were founded as company towns, such as Tongaat),<sup>90</sup> but also allowed it to be closely compared as a port city to, in particular, the port of Cape Town.<sup>91</sup>

After the death of Innes, his deputy, C.J. Crofts, carried on with harbour improvements until the appointment of Cathcart W. Methven in 1889. Methven continued the work of Innes in the same fashion, except for much further extension of the North Pier.<sup>92</sup> Escombe took a strong dislike to him and began to advocate a policy of dredging only.<sup>93</sup> Methven was not opposed to dredging; however, he was of the opinion that without extending the North Pier to augment tidal scour,

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<sup>84</sup> Ibid.

<sup>87</sup> H. Heydenrych, 'Railway Development in Natal in 1895', in Guest and Sellers, (eds ), Enterprise and Exploitation in a Victorian Colony, pp.62-3.

<sup>88</sup> See Appendix J: Table 5 and 6.

<sup>89</sup> See Appendix J: Table 3. See Durban Mayor's Minutes, 31 July 1911, p.277.

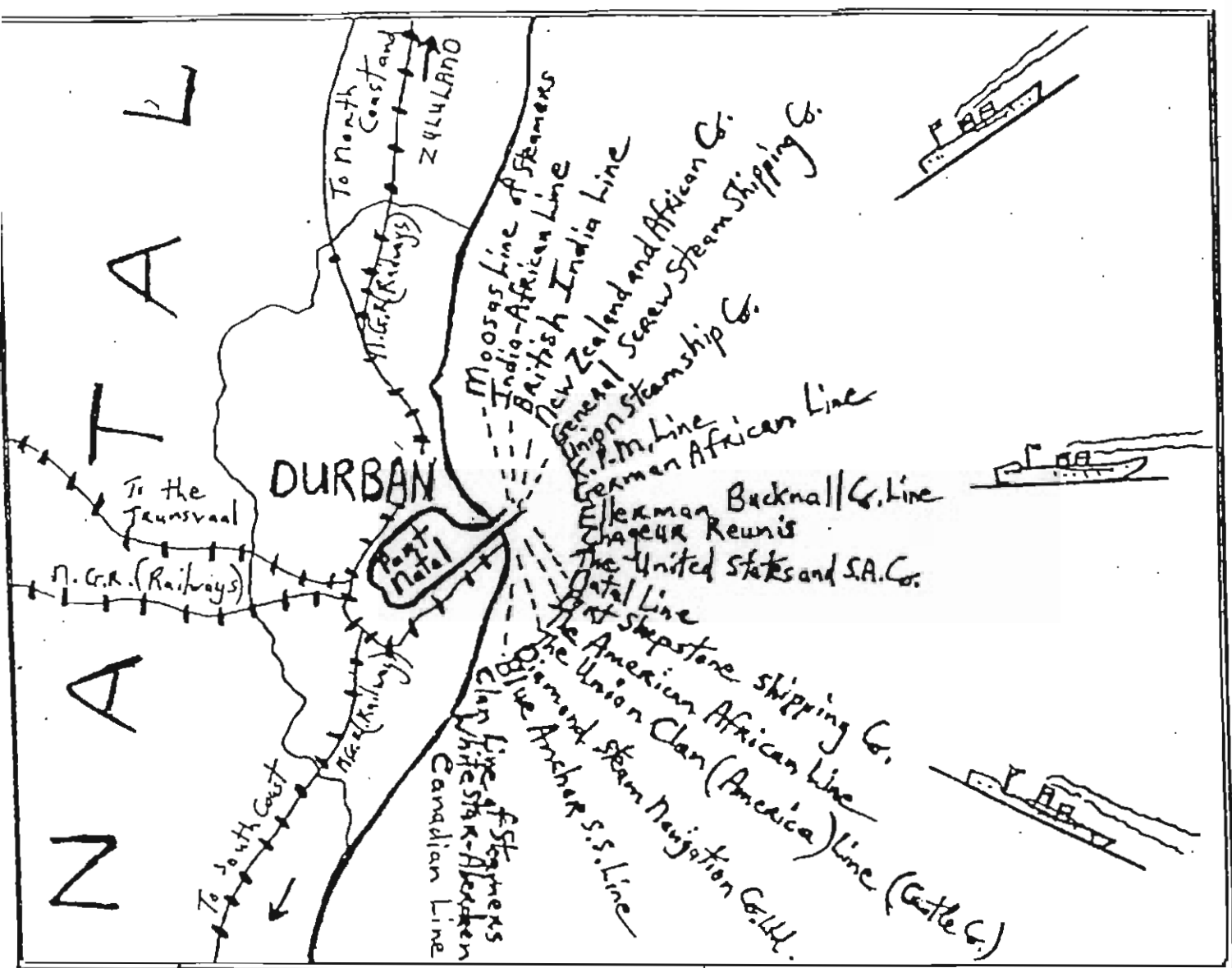
<sup>90</sup> See Appendix J., Table 8.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid., Table 9.

<sup>92</sup> Harwood, 'Port of Durban', pp.11-13. See Figure 4.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid.; Hobson 'The Effect of Durban Harbour on Natal's Politics, 1874-1898', pp.37-40.

Main Shipping Companies represented at Port Natal in the colonial period.



Shipping Agents representing the above mentioned companies had their offices in close proximity to Port Natal. These were mainly situated in West, Smith, Field, Gardiner Streets & Commercial Road. The Union-Castle Company was formed by the amalgamation of the Union line and the Castle line in December 1889.

Sources: Natal Almanac & Directory & Yearly Register 1899, p. 784.  
The Natal Mercury, 28 June 1880 and 15 February 1935.



dredging would merely preserve the state of affairs.<sup>94</sup> The result of this disagreement was the dismissal of Methven in 1894 - a highly competent engineer who became another victim of Natal harbour politics. The Escombe-Methven affair played straight into the hands of the Opposition and consequently led to the folding up of the Harbour Board in 1894 when Escombe resigned. The whole controversy would eventually contribute to the fall of the Escombe government in 1897.<sup>95</sup>

Matters did not really change drastically when the Harbour Board folded up in 1894. A Port Advisory Board took over harbour matters,<sup>96</sup> with Benjamin Greenacre and George Payne as prominent members. The Natal Government under the new leadership of Henry Binns, an ex-engineer, called upon the advice of the British consulting engineers, Sir Charles Hartley and Sir John Wolfe Barry. They favoured extension of the outer works.<sup>97</sup> A petition dated 28 April 1903 was drawn up by representatives of steamship companies trading to Natal, urging the Natal Government to proceed at once with the harbour improvements, as recommended by the two engineers, Hartley and Barry.<sup>98</sup> Charles Crofts was to carry out their advice. These two engineers basically agreed with Methven's ideas of lengthening the piers and supplementing these measures by dredging.

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<sup>94</sup> Ibid.; Durban Local History Museum: Files 547-54797: Railways, Harbours, Bridges and Engineering: Natal Harbour Board Documents in connection with the case of Methven versus the Colonial Government.

<sup>95</sup> Hobson, 'The Effect of Durban Harbour on Natal's Politics', p.1; L. Heydenrych 'Port Natal', in Guest and Sellers (eds ), Enterprise and Exploitation in a Victorian Colony, pp.35-9.

<sup>96</sup> Natal Mercury, 1 November 1950.

<sup>97</sup> Horwood, 'Port of Durban', p.14.

<sup>98</sup> See Appendix S and Figure 7.

The big difference was that they believed that the North Pier should have a northward curve,<sup>99</sup> which was completed by Crofts in 1904, bringing the length to 1 265 metres.<sup>100</sup> This notorious 'Cant to the North Pier' was removed in 1940,<sup>101</sup> and the South Pier was extended beyond the North Pier, a principle in which Innes believed. The South Pier extension was, in the meantime, completed in 1903 by Crofts, with a then shorter length of 792 metres.<sup>102</sup> The harbour entrance was with this northward curve even further narrowed from 244 metres to 183 metres.<sup>103</sup> Further extensions to these outer works, as mentioned above, were conducted in the post-Union period. More successful results were seen from the outer expansion of Port Natal, with the importation of more dredgers.<sup>104</sup> The Natal Government acted at the instigation of prominent traders, such as A.H. Rennie, successor to Cato as Lloyd's Agent, who convinced them of the urgency of a greater depth at the entrance which only more additions to the dredging fleet could bring. Two new hopper suction dredgers, including the 'Octopus', were acquired in 1895 as the first of the fleet of powerful dredgers for dealing with the Bar problem. The 'Walrus', was imported in 1897,<sup>105</sup> and the 'Grampus' in 1902. Other dredgers to have come later were the 'Nautilus' in 1903 and the 'Cetus' in 1905. The latter were said to have been so powerful as to

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<sup>99</sup> See Figure 4.

<sup>100</sup> Tatlow, Descriptive Guide, p.31.

<sup>101</sup> Daily News, 8 February 1940.

<sup>102</sup> D. Steenkamp and C.S. Mendes, 'Durban Harbour through the Ages', in Die Siviele Ingenieur in Suid-Afrika, February 1985, pp.77-9.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid.; Tatlow, p.31.

<sup>104</sup> Natal Mercury, 16 October 1923.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid., 3 August 1897.

have dredged 726 000 tons of sand from the Bar alone.<sup>106</sup> On recommendations made by the Dredging Masters and accepted by the engineers, sand traps 15 metres deep were dredged on the south side of the Bluff (Cave Rock) and the harbour entrance to catch up some of the sand drift, which would then be dredged afterwards.<sup>107</sup> The desired effect was achieved when the depth of 6,7 metres in the entrance channel, (as was drawn by the 'Armadale Castle in 1904),<sup>108</sup> was increased to 10, 8 metres by 1909. Currently 12,8 metres depth is maintained in the entrance and exit channel or 'main road' of the harbour.<sup>109</sup> A sand pumping jetty is also currently in existence at the start of the South Pier on the Indian Ocean side.

This outer expansion of Port Natal classified it as a 'Bar Harbour' with the entrance defined by two breakwaters or piers. Consequently it was declared 'a compulsory Pilotage Port' in 1881.<sup>110</sup> A pier and dredging system are still maintained - permanent works coupled with temporary works. This pattern of harbour development in the outer expansion of Durban harbour, was thus initiated in the pre-Union period by British engineers, aided by improved technology in dredging. They were appointed by the Natal Government as colonial engineers with the necessary funding to overcome the stumbling blocks

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<sup>106</sup> Horwood, 'Port of Durban', p.15.

<sup>107</sup> South African Panorama, February 1965, pp.37-41.

<sup>108</sup> L. Heydenrych, 'Port Natal', in Guest and Sellers (eds ), Enterprise and Exploitation in a Victorian Colony, pp. 39-40; Horwood, 'Port of Durban', p.15.

<sup>109</sup> Steenkamp and Mendes, 'Durban harbour through the ages', in Die Siviele Ingenieur in Suid-Afrika, pp.77-9.

<sup>110</sup> NGG, vol.XXXIII, no.1863, 11 January 1881, pp.21-2; Law no.29, 1880.

Stranded on the "Bar", 25/2/1892



(Copyright : Durban Local History Museum) .

The engines of the vessel, one of the D.O.A. lines (German East Africa) may have failed on her approach to the channel, or, what is more likely, she took a sheer after crossing the Bar inwards, a danger which still threatens pilots. Ships in this predicament have sometimes had to steam in stern first with a tug in attendance.

which hampered trading.

'The conquest of the Bar was the final turning point in the story of Port Natal. Henceforth, the largest ships in the African trade, could enter the harbour, and the days when Durban was known as a ship's graveyard were for ever over. A new era had begun in the Port's development.'<sup>111</sup>

The second stage in harbour improvements involved the inner expansion of Durban harbour. This step was taken to further increase accommodation for ships resulting from Durban's growing trade with its coastline and hinterland, as generated by a growing population. The first three decades marked very little development in berthing facilities. John Milne, prior to being appointed as Resident Engineer at the harbour in 1850, saved that portion of the Point where the Custom's House stood from being washed away by means of wattle fencing.<sup>112</sup> George Cato was granted permission in 1849 to erect a trading store and build a jetty on piles below the Custom House,<sup>113</sup> which was contrary to what George Russell in History of Old Durban wrote.

'...no jetty was built for years'. In the case of distinguished personages, the difficulty was bridged over by the intervention of a row-boat and a stout plank.'<sup>114</sup>

The majority of immigrants, according to Russell, apparently landed ashore by being carried on the backs of 'Natives'.<sup>115</sup> Then they were introduced to the two greatest factors 'in their future

<sup>111</sup> Horwood, 'Port of Durban', p.15.

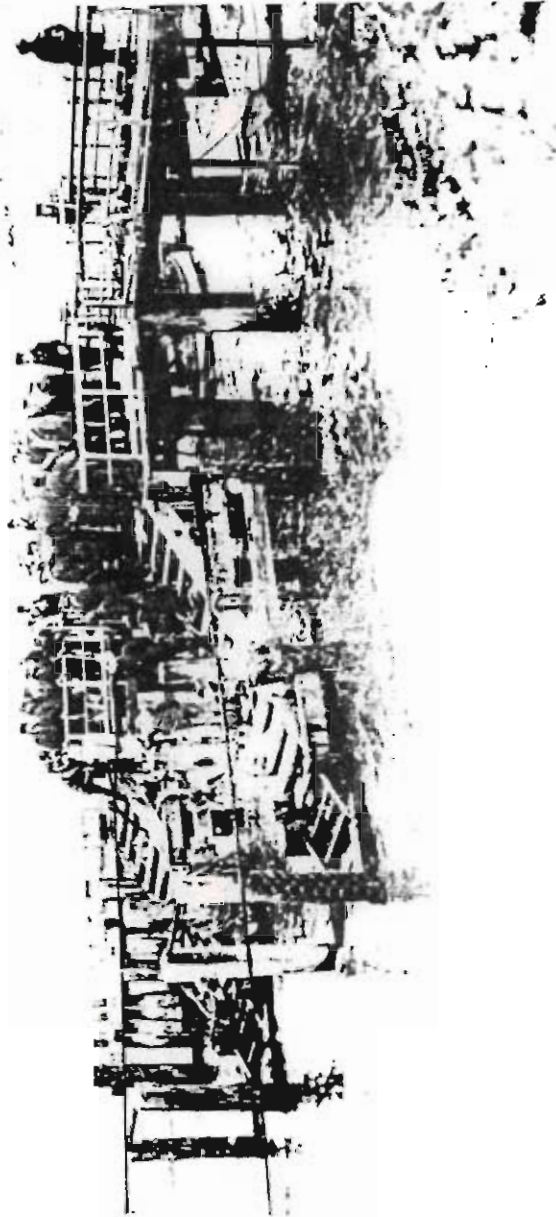
<sup>112</sup> L. Heydenrych, 'Port Natal', in Guest and Sellers (eds ), Enterprise and Exploitation in a Victorian Colony, p.20.

<sup>113</sup> CSO 38 (Part 2), no.127/1846, p.97: Cato to Colonial Secretary, 26 September 1846; CSO 38 (Part 2), no.139/1847, p.126: C.J. Gibb, C.E., to G.C. Cato granting permission. See Russell, Old Durban, p.116, which mentions only Cato's Store.

<sup>114</sup> George Russell, Old Durban, p.87.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid.

Ferry Jetty 1 June 1905



Wm. L. L. June 1.05 —

Copyright: Durban Local History Museum



lives and fortunes, the ox and his wagon.<sup>116</sup> A Railway Wharf (mentioned in Chapter 7) was constructed at the Point in 1859 by the Railway engineer, Alfred Robinson.<sup>117</sup> This wharf facilitated offloading of goods from ships onto the train when a railway system was started by the Natal Railway Company (N.R.C.) in 1860, from the harbour to the market in central Durban. Law no.12 1875 enabled the Natal Government Railways (N.G.R.) to levy 'certain Wharfage Dues' at Durban harbour.<sup>118</sup> This happened when by Law no.6, 1875, the Natal Government took over the Railway lines from the N.R.C. between the Point and the centre of Durban, and between central Durban and the Umgeni River.<sup>119</sup>

Hattersley in Later Annals of Natal mentioned that a primitive landing jetty of timber was erected in 1865.<sup>120</sup> A similar ferry jetty was also built in the 1870s and used by two Benjamin brothers for a ferry service between the Point and the Bluff for sailors, and, in later years, for whaling and coaling officials.<sup>121</sup> This ferry jetty was upgraded by the Natal Government in 1904 and the rowing boat initially used was soon replaced by a steam launch and finally by motor craft. The ferry service was later taken over by the Springbok Boating Company, and is presently controlled by the Railway Administration.<sup>122</sup>

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<sup>116</sup> Ibid., p.88.

<sup>117</sup> Natal Mercury, 31 January 1859.

<sup>118</sup> NGG, vol.XXVIII, no.1570, 25 January 1876, p.8: Law no.12, 1875.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid., 11 January 1876, p.8: Law no.6, 1875.

<sup>120</sup> Hattersley, Later Annals of Natal, pp.15-6.

<sup>121</sup> Horwood, 'Port of Durban', p.23.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid.

Construction of proper berthing facilities was only really undertaken from the 1880s onwards. This was presumably in direct response to a petition drawn up in strong terms by Durban's mercantile elite in 1879. They addressed it to the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir H. Bulwer, asking for 'additional Landing facilities in connection with the Shipping of the Port',<sup>123</sup> and it was undersigned by G. Goodricke. The latter was a close relation to J.R. Goodricke, the shipping agent, importer and coal merchant,<sup>124</sup> who was Mayor in 1859 and served in the Natal Parliament in 1859-61 and in 1869.<sup>125</sup> G. Goodricke served as Town Solicitor for many years. The petitioners emphasized their plight as follows:

'As the direct consequences of this state of matters, great loss of time takes place in discharging Vessels and Lighters; the Commerce of the Port is thereby impaired; and the Owners of Ships suffer greatly through the enforced detention of their Vessels here - thus leading to enhanced rates of freight.'<sup>126</sup>

They further pointed out that during the administration of the Natal Government by Sir Garnet Wolseley in 1875, a scheme was approved

'...whereby the even then crowded state of the wharves and warehouses at the Point could have been materially lessened, namely by stationing an Officer of Her Majesty's Customs at the Southern end of Field Street where it adjoins the Bay and by permitting Lighters to be loaded alongside vessels and to discharge at the said place where such Custom's Officer would be stationed.'<sup>127</sup>

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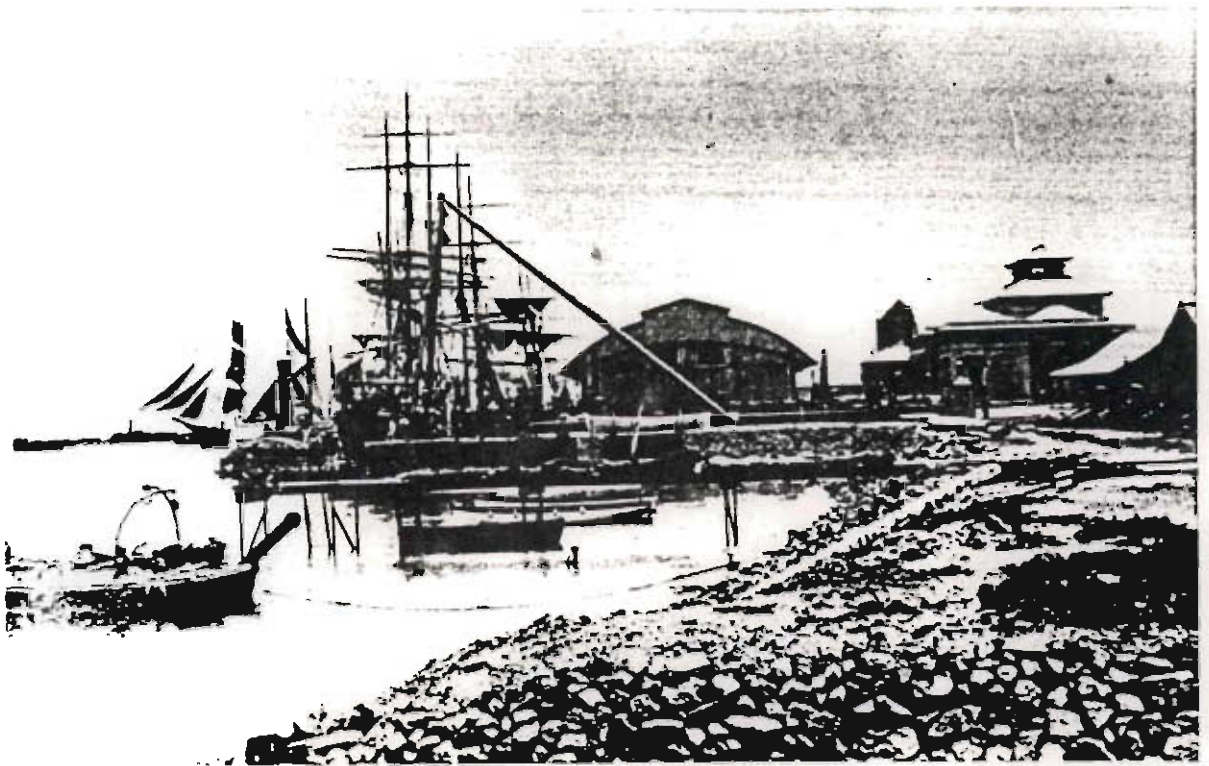
<sup>123</sup> Durban Local History Museum: Files 547-54797: Railways, Harbours, Bridges and Engineering: Copy of Petition: Landing Stage, 1879.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid. See Natal Almanac Directory and Yearly Register 1880, pp.365-8, listing G.D. Goodricke as advocate and attorney and J.R. Goodricke as shipping agent, coal merchant and importer.

<sup>125</sup> Leventon, 'John Richardson Goodricke', in Dictionary of South African Biography, 3, pp.336-7, referred to him as G.

<sup>126</sup> Durban Local History Museum: Files 547-54797: Railways, Harbours, Bridges and Engineering: Copy of Petition: Landing Stage, 1879.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid.



Durban Docks - circa 1887.

Extremity of Point Wharf - showing original Wharf Shed "A" erected in 1881 (with curved roof) and the sheds erected at the end of the main wharf - the total length of which, at this period, did not exceed 1500 feet. In the left foreground is a craft known as "Anchor Boat" used for tying moorings about the Bay. The funnel of one of the paddle tugs (probably "Forerunner") can be seen in front of the ship in full sail. To the right of "A" Shed is the Customs House.

Photo (Copyright: Local History Museum).

The Legislative Council had voted £500 to facilitate the carrying into effect of such an arrangement, but with no result. The petitioners expressed the hope that these proposals would be carried out as

'...the benefits it would confer upon the trade of the Port would be almost incalculable and would at once put an end to a condition of affairs most impervious to the real welfare of the Colony.'<sup>128</sup>

Public storage shed A was consequently erected at the Point in 1881 with B to follow and C built only in 1890 (the latter became Shed A in later years). This original 'Point Wharf' was referred to as the 'Old Timber Wharf'.<sup>129</sup> The reason presumably was that it was built of timber. Timber for building purposes was also deposited here before further berthing expansion at Maydon Wharf (discussed later), took place to accommodate this growing trade. Privately owned bonding houses were also situated here and were open to the public, for instance, the company of 'R.W. Evans & Parker'.<sup>130</sup> R.W. Evans, who carried on the business, was the son of Mayor A.W. Evans.<sup>131</sup> Such bonding houses enabled Durban's mercantile elite to import their goods in bulk packages directly from the countries of manufacture. Obtaining their merchandise at a discount price allowed them in turn to push up their profit margins by selling goods to consumers at a higher price.

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<sup>128</sup> Ibid.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid.: Visual material on Point wharves and general views of the Point. See Figure 5.

<sup>130</sup> Natal Almanac. Directory and Yearly Register, 1899, p.786. Other bonding houses were: African Boating Co. (known as James Bond); Clark & Thiselton, W. Storm, Wood & Co.

<sup>131</sup> Spencer, British Settlers, vol.6, p.53.

The first modern berthing extension at the Point was at 'Paul's Wharf'<sup>132</sup> (part of the present-day T-jetty and at the time so named because the Vicar of St. Paul's had a house nearby). In later years this extension was simply known as part of the 'Point Wharves'. This inner expansion of Port Natal marked the beginning of a berthing system undertaken by Methven. He started the first stage of a concrete quay wall (a berthing structure) in 1889, with pre-cast concrete stone blocks of 5 tons each, procured from the blockyard at the Point. This frontage facility for vessels was simply a retaining wall along the shore, topped with a deck or platform, serving both as a barrier to protect the shore and as a ship landing and loading facility. A great deal of earth fill (dredgings) was deposited behind the wall by engineers who made use of dredgers to raise the deck to the needed height above the prevailing high water level. In addition dredging was done in front of the wall to obtain the required water depth.<sup>133</sup> This quay wall was completed by Crofts in 1901. At the same time a Passenger Jetty, Baggage and Waiting Room were completed and put to use.<sup>134</sup>

It was at St. Paul's Wharf that the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York landed on their Royal Visit to the Colony in 1901. They were welcomed by Durban's Mayor E.L. Acutt and Town Councillors, with

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<sup>132</sup> Durban Local History Museum: Files 547-54797: Railways, Harbours, Bridges and Engineering: Visual material of wharves.

<sup>133</sup> NHD 1/1/11, Harbour Board Minutes: Chairman's Minutes for 1889: Annexure 9, 31 December 1889.

<sup>134</sup> See Figure 5. See MBS, vol. LIII, no. 391, 5 March 1901: Harbour Correspondence: Letter dated 26 February 1901: Crofts to Secretary, Minister of Lands and Works, pp. 194-5; *ibid.*, Letter dated 27 June 1901: D.C. Davey (Acting Engineer) to Secretary, Minister of Lands and Works, pp. 859-60.

seating arrangements provided for the 480 persons in attendance.<sup>135</sup> Further provision was made by Crofts for sheds D - I with a storage capacity of 100 000 tons. These sheds were completed by 1905 and included the necessary sewers (laid by the Borough Engineer's Department, connecting latrines at the back of the wharf sheds with the Town Council's sewerage system). Rail connections were made as well.<sup>136</sup>

J.R. Goodricke, who constantly supported loans for harbour development, also saw monetary advantage for the colony in the introduction and use of convict labour.<sup>137</sup> The numbers of convicts employed on the harbour works in 1902 were 297 Whites and Coloureds, 205 Africans and 27 Indians, and Crofts asked for more convicts to work at the Point. The Natal Government was urged by him to increase as well the working force in general, as 'additional labour is urgently needed.'<sup>138</sup> This request was acceded to as total labour returns for March 1904 showed 468 Europeans and Coloureds, 1218 'Natives', 101 Indians and 338 convicts - giving a total of 2 125. Such labour was employed at the Point and Bluff mostly for berthage and dredging, and at the Umgeni Quarry and Salisbury Island in lesser numbers.<sup>139</sup> This count reflected a vast increase to a workforce of

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<sup>135</sup> Durban Local History Museum: Files 547-54797: Railways, Harbours, Bridges and Engineering: Visual material.

<sup>136</sup> See Figure 5. See NHD 1/5/5: Minute Paper 1102/1904: Engineer-in-Chief's half-yearly report, 6/6/1904.

<sup>137</sup> Leverton, 'John Richardson Goodricke', in Dictionary of South African Biography, 3, pp.336-7.

<sup>138</sup> NHD 1/3/5: Minute Paper 1281/1902: Engineer-in-Chief's request for labour force increase, 18/11/1902.

<sup>139</sup> NHD 1/5/5, Minute Paper 1185/1904: Engineer-in-Chief's half-yearly report, 6/6/1904.



only 600 employed in 1883.<sup>140</sup> Measures taken to speed up the work even more included the acquisition of 12 four-wheeled eight ton Ballast wagons in 1902 by the Natal Government as 'a useful addition to our present Rolling Stock' for the transport of stone. Six of these were used on the Point side and the rest on the Bluff, 'where the need of light wagons is badly felt.'<sup>141</sup>

The Point Yacht Club had already been established at the Point Wharves by 1892, with J.W. Leuchars as President.<sup>142</sup> The advantageous water frontage of sites bordering on the berthing site created at the Point Wharves made these more profitable for industries to lease. A typical example was that of 'Ballance's Lease' (Henry Chicheley Ballance) to the Transvaal Cold Storage Company (which dispatched frozen imported meat inland).<sup>143</sup> The location of this site was at the time better known as Cato's Creek.<sup>144</sup> This lease was made and entered into on 9 February 1899, agreed to on 20 March 1899, and operated for 21 years at a rate of £100 p.a., with a right of renewal for a further term of 21

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<sup>140</sup> L. Heydenrych, 'Port Natal Harbour', in Guest and Sellers, (eds ), Enterprise and Exploitation in a Victorian Colony, p.32.

<sup>141</sup> NHD 1/4/2: Minute Paper 1175/1903: Engineer-in-Chief's request for increase of rolling stock, 27/1/1903.

<sup>142</sup> Natal Almanac, Directory and Yearly Register, 1899, p.783: Durban Institutions.

<sup>143</sup> PM Minute Papers, vol.40, nos.1182-1462, 1903: Minute Paper, T.A.51/1903: Statement by N.G.R. showing tonnage of frozen meat despatched from Durban and Point 1/1/1903 - 22/4/1903 by the Transvaal Cold Storage Company.

<sup>144</sup> NGG, vol.LI, no.3029, 11 July 1899, pp.998-9: Lease to H.C. Ballance. Cato's Creek was caused by the Umgeni River in flood in April 1848, which '...in its fury scooped out a deep creek across land owned by Mr. Cato (Lots 144 and 143) right into the Bay'. See Russell, Old Durban, p.71.

years.<sup>145</sup> A statement showing tonnage of 'Frozen Meat' despatched by the company from 1 January to 22 April 1903, pointed to the Transvaal and Free State being the largest consumers.<sup>146</sup> Ballance's Lease further permitted the land to be used as a coal depot and for shipping and lighting coal.<sup>147</sup> A Railway Customs Bonded Warehouse (Store), a combination venture of two important Government revenue collectors, was also erected at the Point in 1902. The ground floor was used by the Railway Department with a 50 ton hydraulic wagon hoist extended to the first floor by the Customs Department.<sup>148</sup> The Railway Department had come into existence in 1879 when David Hunter was appointed as Manager, and a Custom's Department in 1889, with R.I. Finnemore appointed as Collector of Customs.<sup>149</sup> A Customs House also housing a bonding warehouse (as mentioned before in Chapter 4), was in existence at the Point in 1848, prior to the erection of this building. The first Customs Collector, William Swan Field<sup>150</sup> (appointed when Letters Patent of 1845 announced Port Natal as a separate port from Cape Town), was then in possession.<sup>151</sup> Customs revenue, assessed by the Controller of Customs on the value of imports and exports, was paid into the Government Treasury.

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<sup>145</sup> NGG, vol.LI, no.3029, 11 July 1899, pp.998-9; Lease of H.C. Ballance.

<sup>146</sup> PM Minute Papers, vol.40, nos.1182-1462/1903; Minute Paper T.A. 51/1903: Statement by N.G.R. from 1 January to 22 April, 1903.

<sup>147</sup> NGG, vol.LI, no.3029, 11 July 1899, pp.998-9; Lease of H.C. Ballance.

<sup>148</sup> NHD 1/3/2, Minute Papers 1184 and 1192/1902: Tender for new bond store, Point, 16/2/1903.

<sup>149</sup> NBE 1890-1, C1 & 87: Alphabetical Index, pp.9-13, listing all other Harbour Departments from CB4-97.

<sup>150</sup> Russell, Old Durban, p.70.

<sup>151</sup> Le Cordeur, 'The Relations between the Cape and Natal 1846-1879', pp.1-4.

The Railways fixed the rate of carriage for overland importation and exportation, as well as freight charges per ton of private or military cargo. Provision was made for railway sidings leading to Bell Street, which was at the Point end of the Bond Store near the Point station.<sup>152</sup>

By 1910 all the 'Point Wharves' were constructed with a Quay Wall of concrete, creating a water frontage of 1 599 metres Quay and a 7-10 metres depth alongside, being fitted out with handling equipment for bulkier cargoes.<sup>153</sup> Inner extension of the 'Point Wharves' was necessitated by major shipping congestion here which was naturally caused by its close proximity to Durban's marketing area.

Further inner expansion of Port Natal was implemented with the creation of the Congella Berth (Maydon Wharf, as mentioned in Chapter 4) with a further reclaimed area behind called 'Congella (Maydon) Wharf Estate'<sup>154</sup> between Albert Park and Umbilo.<sup>155</sup> This ambitious land-filling scheme of the Congella flats (in the Western Vlei swamplands) by the Natal Government was to solve the ever

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<sup>152</sup> NGB, vol.LIV, no.3257, 1 July 1902, pp.1116-8; Government Notice no.407, 1902. See NHD 1/3/11, Minute Paper 1108/1902: Chief-Engineer to Acting Railway Manager on Railway Sidings, 21/10/1902.

<sup>153</sup> Tatlow, Descriptive Guide, pp.38-40; Horwood, 'Port of Durban', pp.35-6. See Figure 5.

<sup>154</sup> Maydon Wharf was the reclaimed Congella Wharfage Estate called as such in honour of John George Maydon, who was appointed as Minister of Lands and Works in 1904. He assumed control of the Railways and Harbour Departments in this appointed role. See Leventon, 'John George Maydon', in Dictionary of South African Biography, 2, pp.455-6.

<sup>155</sup> See Figure 4 and 5.

pressing problem of lack of berthspace for the growing timber trade. The biggest timber dealer in Natal at the time, W.F. Johnstone, on 17 July 1902 appeared before an inner harbour Enquiry Committee set up to look into the situation. He also insisted on the need for a deeper channel 'to get the ships up there.'<sup>154</sup> A copy of the evidence of Johnstone was duly sent to the Natal Government, stressing the importance of immediate steps to be taken by the proper authorities, 'to meet the requirements of this important trade.'<sup>157</sup> Another timber dealer emerging at this time was the company of Hunt, Leuchars & Hepburn. The mining industry was to open up new opportunities in the timber and builders' trade. The Transvaal mines were the chief consumers, particularly of deal, oregon and pitch pines. Timber from Durban harbour was railed chiefly to the Transvaal, Orange Free State and to all parts of Natal.<sup>158</sup>

The Port Captain, H. Ballard, also suggested to the Colonial Secretary towards the end of 1902, that he thought

'...something should be done to give temporary relief by providing say several dolphins away from the Wharves for discharging timber ships. This would allow more ships with general cargoes to get to the wharf. As an example of how matters are at present, I would bring to notice that several cattle ships are at the Outer anchorage waiting for wharf berths, which are not available - a very serious matter for cargoes of this description.'<sup>159</sup>

This suggestion of dolphins (a cluster of piles driven into the

<sup>154</sup> PM Minute Papers, vol.no.1708, 5280-5740: Included Precis of the Specific Points raised by W.F. Johnstone, Timber Merchant in his evidence before the Durban Inner Harbour Enquiry Committee on 17 July 1902.

<sup>157</sup> Ibid.

<sup>158</sup> Natal Mercury: Supplement, 15 February 1935.

<sup>159</sup> NHD 1/3/11, Minute Paper no.1278/1902: Port Captain, H. Ballard's suggestion to Colonial Secretary for dolphins, 12/11/1902.

bottom of the harbour and bound firmly together for the mooring of boats), was obviously agreed to by the Natal Government as one dolphin was reported to have been completed by the end of 1902.<sup>140</sup> The Durban Chamber of Commerce also stressed the need for more wharfspace to the Natal Government during 1903. They further pointed out the delay to which ships were subjected before their cargoes were landed,<sup>141</sup> and included in their appeal a copy of Statements by Steamship Companies trading to Natal also urging the Natal Government to effect harbour improvements. The Colonial Secretary responded by writing that the Government had already decided 'to proceed with the Harbour improvements recommended by Sir Charles Hartley and Sir John Wolfe Barry.'<sup>142</sup>

With the development of the Congella bayfront, another harbour controversy, covered extensively by F.S. Tatham in The Harbour Controversy,<sup>143</sup> cropped up. Opposition leaders were initially against Government policy of 1902 and 1903, which affirmed the principle of immediate construction of the Congella wharves according to 'the Hartley-Barry scheme'<sup>144</sup> and pursued delaying tactics.

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<sup>140</sup> NGB, vol.LIV, no.3257, 1 July 1902, pp.1116-8: Government Notice No.407, 1902. See Minute Paper 1281/1902: Engineer-in-Chief's half-yearly report, 30/12/1902.

<sup>141</sup> PM Minute Papers, vol.36, nos. 2-436: Harbour Correspondence: Letters dated 3, 17, 24 February 1903: Secretary, Durban Chamber of Commerce to Natal Government: Included: Copy of communication signed by the Representatives of Steamship Companies. See Appendix T.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid., vol. 40, nos. 1182-1462: Secretary to Manager, Union Castle Shipping Co., Durban, 19/5/1903.

<sup>143</sup> F.S. Tatham, The Harbour Controversy, (Pietermaritzburg: P.Davis & Son, 1906), pp.1-17.

<sup>144</sup> Ibid.

The Natal Government successfully concluded an agreement by contract with the Durban Mayor Charlie Henwood on 14 April 1904, 'ratified by Act of Parliament in 1904.'<sup>165</sup> By this contract the Natal Government had to buy out Sir Albert Hime's Cold Storage Concession',<sup>166</sup> and re-open negotiations with the Durban Town Council to re-acquire the rights parted with in 1895 for the construction of the Esplanade.<sup>167</sup>

The Esplanade (stretching a mile and a quarter in length from Cat's Creek at the Point to Albert Park), was built at a cost of £83 000 under the direction of the Council's Borough Engineer, John Fletcher, and named 'Victoria Embankment' in 1897.<sup>168</sup> When Albert Park had been laid out in 1864, it became the focus of a bay foreshore residential area and was characterized by fine houses belonging to the settler elite, for example, Mayors Hugh Gillespie's mansion (mentioned in Chapter 3), and J.R. Goodricke's,<sup>169</sup> as well as that of Harry Escombe, overlooking Durban Bay. The Royal Natal Yacht Club functioned here as Durban's first Yacht Club (mentioned in Chapter 5), and so did the Durban Bay Angling Club formed by Sir Walter Hely-Hutchinson, with C.J. Crofts as President, in 1899.<sup>170</sup>

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<sup>165</sup> Ibid.

<sup>166</sup> Ibid.

<sup>167</sup> Ibid.; Natal Mercury, 30 March 1933.

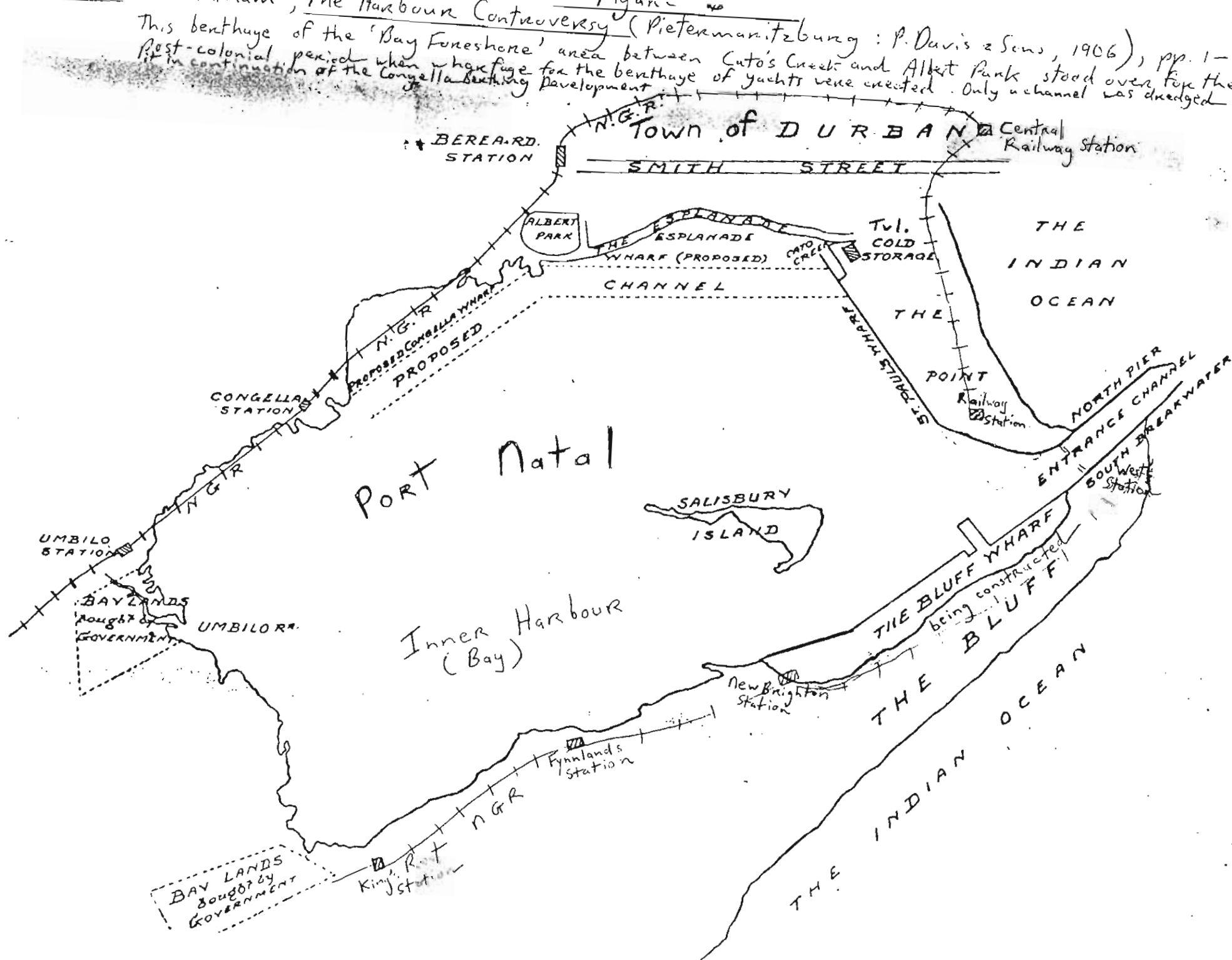
<sup>168</sup> Tatlow, Descriptive Guide, p.51.

<sup>169</sup> Wilks, The Life and Times of The Natal Mercury 1852-1977, pp.200-1, wrote that the Board of Directors under Romer Robinson decided to purchase a site in Devonshire Place, off Smith Street, to house the Mercury, which was originally the path to the home of J.R. Goodricke. Two warehouses were situated here with mysterious subterranean passages leading towards the Bay revealed during excavations, possibly even 'used by smugglers in the gun-running days of the 1870s and 1880s'.

<sup>170</sup> Natal Almanac, Directory and Yearly Register, 1899, p.783: Durban Bay Angling Club.



This benthuge of the 'Bay Foneshore' area between Cato's Creek and Albert Park stood over for the  
Post-colonial period when wharfage for the benthuge of yachts were erected. Only a channel was dredged to pu  
it in continuation of the Congella Berthing Development



The Durban Town Council, by contract, firstly gave back land in 1904 to the Natal Government, valued by Mayor Charlie Henwood at £400 000, in consideration of a payment of an amount of £7 000 to recoup money spent on it. Secondly, the Town Council abandoned its right to make wharves with the concurrent right to run a port of its own in competition with the Government. Furthermore, the Council would not build a quay in front of the Esplanade 'until Parliament should decide that the work at the Congella' was complete.<sup>171</sup> Improvements were accordingly carried out to 'the Hartley-Barry scheme'. Sir Albert Hime was replaced as Prime Minister after this controversy ended, by Frederick Moore.<sup>172</sup>

The undertaking implied reclamation of the Congella flats, proceeding with a quay wall from Albert Park to the Umbilo, as well as the dredging of a channel from St Paul's Wharf up to the point at the Congella where these works were to start.<sup>173</sup> The quay wall of timber was completed in 1904, (and later reinforced by concrete), and on 7 October 1906 the new Maydon Wharf was opened to traffic. The Congella (Maydon) Channel was dredged alongside for berths at this quayside.<sup>174</sup> A typical cargo steamer of the time, named the 'Ilderton', was the first vessel to moor alongside.<sup>175</sup> She offloaded Baltic timber for the timber concern of Hunt, Leuchars and

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<sup>171</sup> Tatham, The Harbour Controversy, pp.1-17.

<sup>172</sup> Ibid.

<sup>173</sup> Ibid. See Figure 6.

<sup>174</sup> Horwood, 'Port of Durban', p.16.

<sup>175</sup> Ibid.

Hepburn.<sup>176</sup> By 1910 the Quay Wall of timber here was 457 metres long, with 8 metres depth alongside and a three-ton travelling steam crane to handle bulkier goods.<sup>177</sup>

The economic impact of this inner expansion of the harbour made Durban 'the centre for local activity in the building trade'.<sup>178</sup> It is noteworthy that the above mentioned timber concerns of Johnstone and Hunt, Leuchars and Hepburn (with more land), were the first to gain a foothold on this newly reclaimed area.<sup>179</sup> Hunt, Leuchars and Hepburn were also closely associated with the establishment of other industries and established the Natal Chemical Syndicate (Wattle Extract and Distillery). They held an interest in the Lion Match Company in 1906, of which they became the selling agents. Their interest in local timber growing also expanded and they claim to have developed the gum and wattle industry and to have been the first firm to have developed Zululand as a timber growing area.<sup>180</sup>

Maize and wattle industries contributed importantly to the export trade during these years. The production of wattle bark was

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<sup>174</sup> Durban Local History Museum: Files 547-54797: Railways, Harbours, Bridges and Engineering: Harbour Correspondence: Annual Report for the year 1906: Port Advisory Board Secretary to Minister of Railways and Harbours.

<sup>177</sup> Tatlow, Descriptive Guide, pp.38-40.

<sup>178</sup> Killie Campbell House Museum: Booklet: Hunt, Leuchars & Hepburn Limited: 100 Years of Progress, 1850-1950 (Durban: ?, 1950), p.19.

<sup>179</sup> Durban Local History Museum: Files 547-54797: Railways, Harbours, Bridges and Engineering: Harbour Correspondence: Annual Report of Port Advisory Board Secretary for the year 1906 to Secretary/Minister of Railways and Harbours. Block A, lots 1,2,5,6 to W.F. Johnstone and lots 3,4,8 and of Block B, lots 3,4 to Messrs. Hunt, Leuchars and Hepburn.

<sup>180</sup> Hunt, Leuchars & Hepburn Limited: 100 Years of Progress, 1850-1950, p.22.

increasing rapidly. In 1908, 24 857 tons were exported, whilst the demand was practically unlimited. Maize exports also increased from 90 000 bags in 1904 to over one million bags five years later.<sup>181</sup> A cold storage concern catering for the fish trade was the firm Sparks and Young Ltd. A site for lease was granted them near the Fish Jetties for a fish packing shed in September 1907 at a rental of £12 per annum.<sup>182</sup> The same firm expanded their business later on to include frozen meat.<sup>183</sup>

The firm Kynoch Ltd., a fertilizing company, acquired leases of Lots 2 and 3 on Block C in March 1908.<sup>184</sup> The number of property accounts mentioned by 1909 was 32 land leases at the Point and 16 at Congella.<sup>185</sup> The opening of the 'Congella (Maydon) Wharf Estate', brought about by the reclamation of valuable land; led to further reclamation in the post-colonial period. Such reclamation was significant as it initiated the enormous development of the Bay Lanes as an industrial area, forming part of Durban's industrial establishment. Mayor W.E. Roberts and his beneficiaries owned a large share in the 'Durban Bay Land Co. Ltd.'.<sup>186</sup> Furthermore

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<sup>181</sup> Tatlow, Descriptive Guide, p.47.

<sup>182</sup> Durban Local History Museum: Files 547-54797: Railways, Harbours, Bridges and Engineering: Harbour Correspondence: Annual Report of Secretary/Port Advisory Board for the Year 1907 to Secretary/Minister of Railways and Harbours.

<sup>183</sup> Natal Mercury: Supplement, 15 February 1935. They amalgamated with Union Cold Storage and formed Federated Meats.

<sup>184</sup> Durban Local History Museum: Files 547-54797: Railways, Harbours, Bridges and Engineering: Harbour Correspondence: Annual Report of Secretary/Port Advisory Board for the year 1908 to Secretary/Minister of Railways and Harbours.

<sup>185</sup> Ibid., 1909.

<sup>186</sup> MSCE 19/4: Deceased Estate of William Emery Roberts, 1903: Inventory of the Assets of the Estate of the Late W.E. Roberts, 21 March 1911.

Mayor Charlie Henwood owned land abutting on this reclaimed area adjoining the main line of Railway in Williams Road<sup>187</sup> (upper Congella), where the first municipal abattoir was opened in 1914.

The first Floating Dock<sup>188</sup> was placed at this reclaimed area of Congella in 1904. This marked the beginning of the third stage in harbour improvements - that for repair facilities. A Dry (Graving) Dock proposed at a meeting of the Harbour Board by Commissioner W. Cato, as early as 6 July 1888 saw completion only in 1924.<sup>189</sup>

The mail service was conducted on the Bluff side from 1852 onwards as the Bluff Channel was here deeper than on the townside of the 'Point Wharves'. Connection of the Bluff Headland with the Point Mainland for passengers and goods was, as mentioned before, by ferry service, tugs and lighters. Not only was a signal station erected at the Bluff to communicate with all vessels outside the harbour and then to transmit messages to the Port Office look-out signal station on the Point side, and vice versa, but also a Time Ball, which dropped at one p.m. (corresponding exactly to eleven a.m. Greenwich Mean Time) every day except Sunday.<sup>190</sup>

Major inner expansion (berths) of Durban harbour on the Bluff side

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<sup>187</sup> Natal Advertiser: Supplement, 10 September 1909.

<sup>188</sup> NGS, vol.LIV, no.3257, 1 July 1902, pp.1116-8: Government Notice no.407, 1902. See NHD 1/3/9, Minute Paper 1099/1902: Agent-general to Minister of Lands and Works, re. Supply of Floating Workshop, 26/9/1902.

<sup>189</sup> Durban Local History Museum: Files 547-54797: Railways, Harbours, Bridges and Engineering: Brochure issued by the General Manager of South African Railways, 'The New Graving Dock' (Johannesburg: ?, July 1924), p.5.

<sup>190</sup> Tatlow, Descriptive Guide, pp.34-5.

from 1904 onwards, has to be attributed to the coal trade. The Elandslaagte Colliery, floated by the sugar magnates C.G. Smith and F. Reynolds, and the Dundee Coal Company, chaired by Benjamin Greenacre, were by far the most important formed during 1888 and 1889.<sup>191</sup> Only in 1901 was the Dundee Colliery outstripped by the Rand-financed Natal Navigation Collieries (set up in 1898).<sup>192</sup> Great foresight was shown by the Natal Navigation Collieries' Directors, who recommended that it was cheaper to run the coal straight to the Bluff by avoiding transit through central Durban. By the same token, more berth space could also be created at the Bluff by land reclamation than at the 'Point Wharves'.<sup>193</sup> Such a step was necessary, considering that,

'[by] 1901 coal had become Natal's second largest export (bunkers absorbing 43,4 per cent of total output and exports from Durban 9,7 per cent), and from 1906 it was the largest, with the bunkering trade declining to 39,3 per cent in that year, but the export trade by sea increasing to dispose of 17,4 per cent of the colony's total output.'<sup>194</sup>

Steps were taken by the Natal Government to reclaim land on the Bluff side and create the necessary wharfage to accommodate the growing coal trade. By 1910 the Bluff berthage comprised 320 metres, with an 8 metre depth alongside. (The current depth maintained by dredging is 12,8 metres.) Durban harbour as a result of her inner expansion could now boast a total berthage of 3 926 metres.<sup>195</sup>

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<sup>191</sup> Ruth Edgecombe and Bill Guest, 'An Introduction To The Pre-Union Natal Coal Industry', in Guest and Sellers (eds ), Enterprise and Exploitation in a Victorian Colony, pp.316-7.

<sup>192</sup> Ibid.

<sup>193</sup> NHD 1/3/11, Minute Paper, no.1275/1902: Natal Navigation Collieries Limited's recommendation, 7/11/1902. See Figures 6 & 7.

<sup>194</sup> Edgecombe and Guest, 'Coal Industry', in Guest and Sellers (eds ), Enterprise and Exploitation in a Victorian Colony, p.325.

<sup>195</sup> Horwood, 'Port of Durban', p.17; Daily News: Supplement, 31 March 1987.

The whaling industry also benefitted by this berthage and railway extension. A lease was granted to this industry in 1908 on the End Bluff Estate in order to make it more remunerative to the Harbour finances.<sup>196</sup> A slipway was built here, as part of Durban harbour's inner extension to accommodate this industry, started by the Norwegian Consul Jacob J. Egeland and his partner Johan Bryde with capital raised in Norway.<sup>197</sup> When the factory was transferred to the oceanward side of the Bluff in 1909, as 'was desirable in the public interests',<sup>198</sup> the original slipway remained and so began the unique method of transporting the whole carcasses from the harbour round the Bluff to the factory by train.

To facilitate shipping even further at Port Natal, as 'an essential appendage of a modern harbour',<sup>199</sup> the Bluff Lighthouse at the

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<sup>196</sup> Durban Local History Museum: Files 547-54797: Railways, Harbours, Bridges and Engineering: Harbour Correspondence: Port Advisory Secretary's Report for the year 1907 to Minister of Railways and Harbours.

<sup>197</sup> Ibid.: Booklet: Ray Campbell, 'A Short History of Modern Whaling off Natal', pp.37-44. Campbell was a member of the Whale Research Unit, National Institute of Oceanography, U.K. He wrote that in 1909, Egeland withdrew from the partnership with Bryde, and set up the Union Whaling and Fishing Company with his cousin, Abraham Larsen, financed by British capital. They started operations in 1910 with two vessels, employed three in 1911, and four in 1912. The company was wound up because of war difficulties in 1916. A new Union Whaling Company was formed in 1921 with capital raised in Durban. They bought the old Union Whaling Station and employed Norwegian managers and gunners. The Durban Whaling firm ended its operations in 1975 as a result of the drastic reduction in animal whaling quotas which did not allow for a profit. See Daily News, 19 October 1975 and 20 April 1978; Natal Mercury, 26 October 1978.

<sup>198</sup> Ibid.: Harbour correspondence: Port Advisory Board Secretary for the year 1907 to Minister of Lands and Works.

<sup>199</sup> Natal Weekend Advertiser, 21 January 1933: How the Lighthouse was Opened. See Natal Almanac, Directory and Yearly Register, 1867, p.v.



height of the Bluff headland was officially declared open in 1866 by Lieutenant-Governor Scott. G.C. Cato, who fought persistently for some twenty years for a lighthouse on the Bluff, remarked at the ceremony what a great day it had been for Natal and added emphatically: "May the light of Natal never grow dim."<sup>200</sup> This leading landmark was an easily recognizable feature of the Durban environment and was the first lighthouse to have been erected on this eastern coastline (it was demolished in 1941.)<sup>201</sup> The present Green Point Lighthouse overlooking Brighton Beach was completed in 1905.<sup>202</sup>

Salisbury Island was a latecomer to the inner expansion of Durban harbour. Its isolated position in the middle of the Durban inner harbour or Bay made it ideal for quarantine purposes. The island was utilized by the Natal Government from the 1860s for cholera-infected Indians<sup>203</sup> who emigrated to work on the sugar fields. It was again utilized at the time of the Bubonic Plague in 1901 when a Plague Hospital was erected here for suspected infected cases. The Hospital was built on recommendation of the governing settler elite and placed under the superintendence of the Borough Medical Officer of Health. A slipway of 'hard wood timber' was at the same time erected here.<sup>204</sup> The habitable portion was reclaimed after the plague scare had died down. The harbour authorities utilized dredgings normally

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<sup>200</sup> Ibid.

<sup>201</sup> Daily News, 13 May 1941. See Figure 3.

<sup>202</sup> Durban Local History Museum: Files 547-54797: Railways, Harbours, Bridges and Engineering: Lighthouses.

<sup>203</sup> Russell, Old Durban, pp.490-2. See Appendix I.

<sup>204</sup> NGS, vol. LIII, no. 391, 23 July 1901, p.1054; Engineer-in-Chief's half-yearly report for 1901. See Henderson, Fifty Years, pp.309, 311.

carried out to sea for such reclamation works and the land was set off in lots for residential purposes.<sup>205</sup> By then it had become a popular weekend resort for anglers and picnic parties.<sup>206</sup> During the Union period, Salisbury Island was offered to the Admiral of the Cape Station and became a vital naval base in the two World Wars.<sup>207</sup> Wharfage plans for Salisbury Island only materialised in the post-colonial period when the area of land between Fynnland Beach and the Island was reclaimed, and New Pier 1 was completed in 1969 and New Pier 2 in 1977. These piers were connected by a 545 metre long crossberth, providing the port with 14 additional deepwater berths with a minimum depth alongside of 12,1 metres.<sup>208</sup>

The White settler elite, well represented in the Natal Government, as well as being Commissioners on the various Harbour Boards, and members of the Durban Chamber of Commerce and Durban Town Council, was strongly influenced by mercantile and mining interests to advocate and support harbour and railway development. Durban harbour, with all the necessary engineering works initiated during this colonial period to improve facilities, could no longer be classed as a natural harbour and had become artificial, like most other harbours today. The expansion of Durban harbour with its connecting arteries (railways) to mining and agricultural regions brought more people and trade to Durban and stimulated the growth of

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<sup>205</sup> Durban Local History Museum: Files 547-54797: Railways, Harbours, Bridges and Engineering: Harbour Correspondence: Annual Reports, 1905-8: Report 1906: Secretary, Natal Harbour Department to Minister of Railways and Harbours.

<sup>206</sup> Daily News, 16 November 1945.

<sup>207</sup> Natal Mercury, 23 and 27 November 1945.

<sup>208</sup> Steenkamp and Mendes, 'Durban Harbour through the Ages', in Die Siviële Ingenieur, pp.77-9. See Natal Mercury, 9 November 1961 and 28 June 1977.

the town. As settlement increased, and as more employment opportunities arose, Durban became the natural emporium or distributing centre for imports and collecting centre for the exports, for a vast area extending inland.

'Port cities, because of their overseas connections, became the termini or junction towns of the main lines, and they served likewise', '... gathered to themselves a disproportionate share of traffic and with an extra source of population congestion. With the steady increase in the size and draft of ships, these disparities grew: smaller ports lost their trade to the big ports where the channels are deep, the railroad connections many.'<sup>209</sup>

The before mentioned variable technology was used in this chapter as an heuristic aid to study the structure of the colonial city of Durban. The rise of Durban as an international seaport, aided by (British) applied technology, was made possible because of the support of the governing settler elite. Durban harbour still carries a special identity in the Durban environment as the focal point of Durban's trading activities and her townscape.

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<sup>209</sup> Lewis Mumford, The Culture of Cities (London: Secker and Warburg, 1940), p.159. See Figure 7.

## Chapter 7

The Railways

The second essential element of industrial-capitalist urbanization provided by leaders in colonial Durban society was the railways. This British model of land transport was copied worldwide. Railways were equated by Victorians in the Railway Age with 'progress and civilization'.<sup>1</sup> The addition of this technological 'symbol of improvement'<sup>2</sup> by a White settler elite to the urban development of Durban was a planned or directed process.

Railways were introduced to colonial Durban by the formation of the first Natal Railway Company (N.R.C.) in January 1859.<sup>3</sup> Such a company was planned and subsequently formed by the inspiration of leading figures in the Durban community such as George Christopher Cato, Alexander McArthur, A.W. Evans, Hugh Gillespie, J.R. Goodricke, R. Vause, John Hunt, Edward Snell, John Millar and S. Pinsent, to name just a few Directors and Shareholders.<sup>4</sup> The printed

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<sup>1</sup> Jeffrey Richards and John M. MacKenzie, The Railway Station: A Social History (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), pp.1-2.

<sup>2</sup> Briggs, Victorian Cities, p.13. Briggs was the first British historian to make the city itself an object of serious historical enquiry.

<sup>3</sup> Natal Mercury, 20 January 1859; Russell, Old Durban, pp.393-400; Edward Donald Campbell, The Birth and Development of the Natal Railways (Pietermaritzburg: Shuter & Shooter, 1951), p.10, also mentioned the British colonial engineer, John Milne's earlier Bluff wooden-track railway, which hauled stone in wooden trucks for harbour works, as the 'first railway in South Africa'. The difference was, however, that it was animal-powered or drawn in contrast to being steam-driven and maybe had a closer resemblance to the early trams which were also pulled along rails by animals.

<sup>4</sup> See Appendix L for full list of Shareholders taken from Charles Fitzwilliam Cadiz, Ordinances, Laws and Proclamations of Natal 1843-1870 (Pietermaritzburg: Vause and Slatter, 1879), vol.1, pp.272-3. Directors as taken from Natal Government Railway (N.G.R.) Minute Books 37 and 38 dealing with the period 7 February 1859 to 4 December 1861.

prospectus of the company appeared in the Natal Mercury of 31 January 1859.<sup>5</sup> A communal project was thus initiated by the joint ventures of leading mercantile men of Durban and Pietermaritzburg. Some of the above mentioned Directors and Shareholders also controlled the local ruling body, the Durban Town Council. These men advertised 1000 shares of £10 each in the prospectus to provide an initial capital of £10 000.<sup>6</sup> The shares were all taken up by mid-February 1859 and the first general meeting of shareholders was held on 20 February 1859 for the election of Directors and for general business.<sup>7</sup>

Albert Robinson, a British engineer, with necessary expertise in the field, was employed by the company to build a two mile (3 kilometre) stretch of British standard gauge<sup>8</sup> (1,5 metres) line between the market square in central Durban and the Point wharf at Durban harbour. Railway and harbour development went hand in hand. The engineer insisted on the erection of a railway wharf, so that 'goods would be landed direct from the ship's tackle, on to the trucks, ... with [a]bout three or four hundred feet frontage'. All arrangements made by the N.R.C. received the full support of the eight strong Board of Commissioners for the Harbour. Mayor William Hartley and two Councillors were represented, as well as G.C. Cato as Lloyd's Agent.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> See Appendix M for copy of printed prospectus as printed and published in the Natal Mercury, 31 January 1859.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.; *ibid.*, 3 February 1859.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 17 February 1859. See Appendix L.

<sup>8</sup> See Appendix F. Gauge is the distance between the inside faces of the running rails.

<sup>9</sup> Natal Mercury, 17 February 1859. See NGG, vol.VII, no.328, 3 March 1855: Ordinance, no.3, 1855.

A steam tug<sup>10</sup> was ordered to obviate the frequent detaining of vessels which brought the plant of locomotive, trucks and line for the N.R.C. out from England in 1859. This farsighted commercial enterprise by a generation of local business leaders, well represented in the Durban Town Council and Harbour Board, was a logical step taken by the elite to favour their interests and boost trade in the growing town. Seven Directors as provided for in the Draft Trust Deed were from Durban and only three from Pietermaritzburg. In the process of selling shares, Durbanites also bought up more than their counterparts in Pietermaritzburg.<sup>11</sup>

The Point-Durban railway line,<sup>12</sup> officially opened on 23 June 1860,<sup>13</sup> provided a carrying link or artery of volume transportation between Durban harbour and the Durban central market-place. The building of this short local line materialised only when all the preliminary arrangements had been completed and the contentious Durban terminus question finally settled.<sup>14</sup> The terminus was to be on Ordnance ground to the north of the market square. This was

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<sup>10</sup> The name of the steam tug was the 'Pioneer' and she arrived from England on 14 November 1859. She was afterwards remodelled and her engines assembled to transform her into a tug. See Natal Mercury, 17 November 1859; Russell, Old Durban, p.394.

<sup>11</sup> At an Adjourned Meeting it was announced that out of 949 shares, 70 Durbanites had bought up 591 with only 358 shares bought up by 65 persons in Pietermaritzburg. See Natal Mercury, 10 March 1859.

<sup>12</sup> See Appendix N for Plan A.

<sup>13</sup> Russell, Old Durban, p.469.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., pp.395-400; N.G.R. Minute Book 38, 18 April 1859; Natal Mercury, May to December 1859 deals with this contention in great detail. See also Heinie Heydenrych and Bruno Martin, The Natal Main Line Story (Pretoria: HSRC, 1992), pp.1-2.

decided by a joint resolution of the Board of Directors of the N.R.C. in collaboration with the Durban Town Council. William Hartley and Alexander Mc Arthur were Mayors during this period. Station agents were at the same time appointed at the Point and Durban stations.<sup>15</sup> The grandeur of the opening of this railway line and attendance by White settler dignitaries such as J. Scott, the Governor of Natal, G.C. Cato, in his capacity as Director and United States Consular Agent, J.R. Goodricke and A.W. Evans, Members of the Legislative Council for Durban, and Durban's Mayor, Alexander McArthur, who all undertook the first trip, were well documented by the contemporary historian, George Russell, in his book, The History of Old Durban.<sup>16</sup> The first locomotive, the 'Natal', with her 24 h.p. engine pulling five trucks, was engineered by Henry Jacobs, a newly arrived British emigrant.<sup>17</sup> The undertaking showed British technology at its best, and received a royal stamp of approval when Prince Alfred, youngest son of Queen Victoria, was given a ride on the train in September 1860 to the Point station. The royal party was, on their departure from Natal, taken by the port boat to H.M.S. 'Euryalus' at the anchorage.<sup>18</sup>

The next logical step by the N.R.C. was an extension of this line. The Durban public was informed of the company's intention of introducing a Bill into the Natal Legislative Council to enable the N.R.C. to extend its line westwards along Pine Terrace (Street) to

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<sup>15</sup> Russell, Old Durban, pp.395-400.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

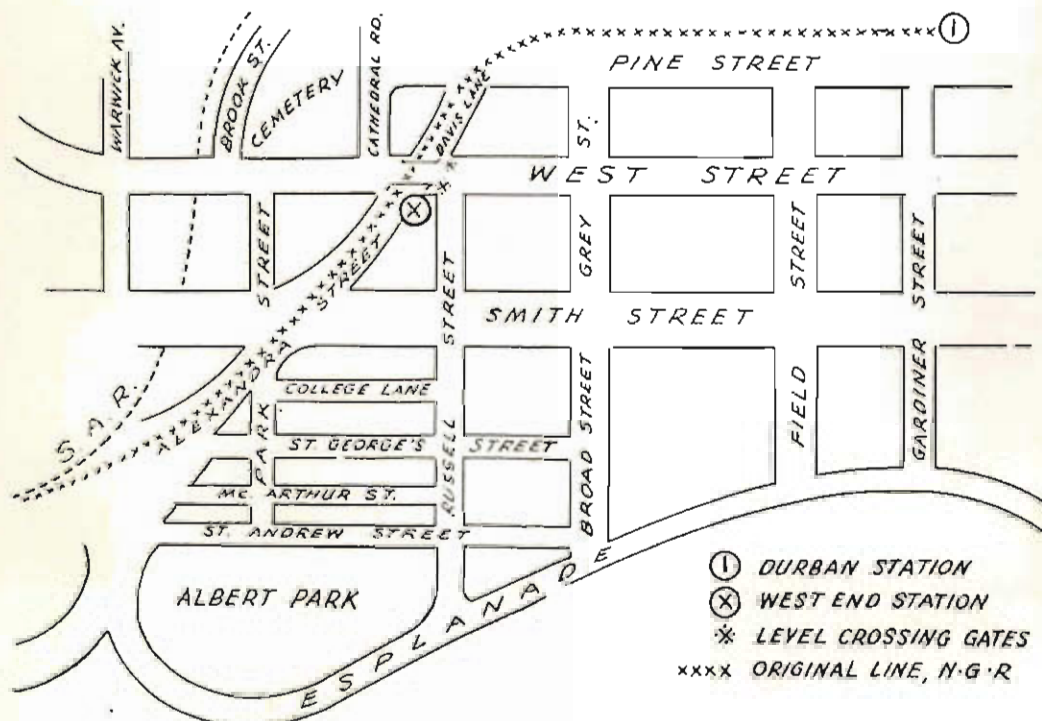
<sup>17</sup> N.G.R. Minute Book 38, 2 January 1860; Russell, Old Durban, pp.462-76; Natal Mercury, 28 June 1860.

<sup>18</sup> Russell, Old Durban, pp.482-89.



# Diagram 3

Original route from Durban Station  
along Pine Terrace (Street)  
to West End Halt (Station) and further  
along Alexandra Street.



Drawing showing original route of main line of Natal Government Railways along Pine Terrace (now Pine Street) and across West and Smith Streets. The route taken by the present-day railway track is also shown.

the new West End halt.<sup>19</sup> This small extension of about half a kilometre led towards the West End cemetery<sup>20</sup> and was completed in the 1860s. The significance of this move was that not only was it the beginning of the route the later main line to Umbilo was to follow,<sup>21</sup> but also that the central western part of Durban was now visibly connected by rail to the eastern part. The latter was the first central marketing area because of its close proximity to the harbour. Trade could now be more evenly distributed to accommodate more people along a longer stretch. Town delivery received a further boost in 1872 with the completion in central Durban of rails for street tramways along Gardiner, Pine, West, Smith and Field Streets, linking up with the Point railway line. Cars or trucks laden with merchandise could now be detached from the locomotive and be independently handled by shopowners.<sup>22</sup>

Although great strides forward were made by the N.R.C. during this spell of private ownership dominated by the settler elite, great financial ups and downs were also experienced. N.R.C. expenditure exceeded income and 500 new shares at f10 each were issued in 1860 to raise the capital to f15 000. This move permitted the Directors to buy boats and act as Landing Agents.<sup>23</sup> Further financial losses

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<sup>19</sup> NGG, vol.XIII, no.646, 5 March 1861, p.51: Application for Bill to extend the Railway to the West End of Durban.

<sup>20</sup> N.G.R. Minute Book 39, 6 August 1862; Natal Mercury, 12 August 1862.

<sup>21</sup> See Diagram 3 & 4.

<sup>22</sup> Campbell, Natal Railways, p.40; Natal Mercury, 8 February 1872. A new crane, a turn-table and various sheds plus improvements to the N.R.C. pier facilities were also effected in this period. The N.R.C. could boast of two locomotives and twenty-five trucks by 1873. See Natal Mercury, 6 February 1873.

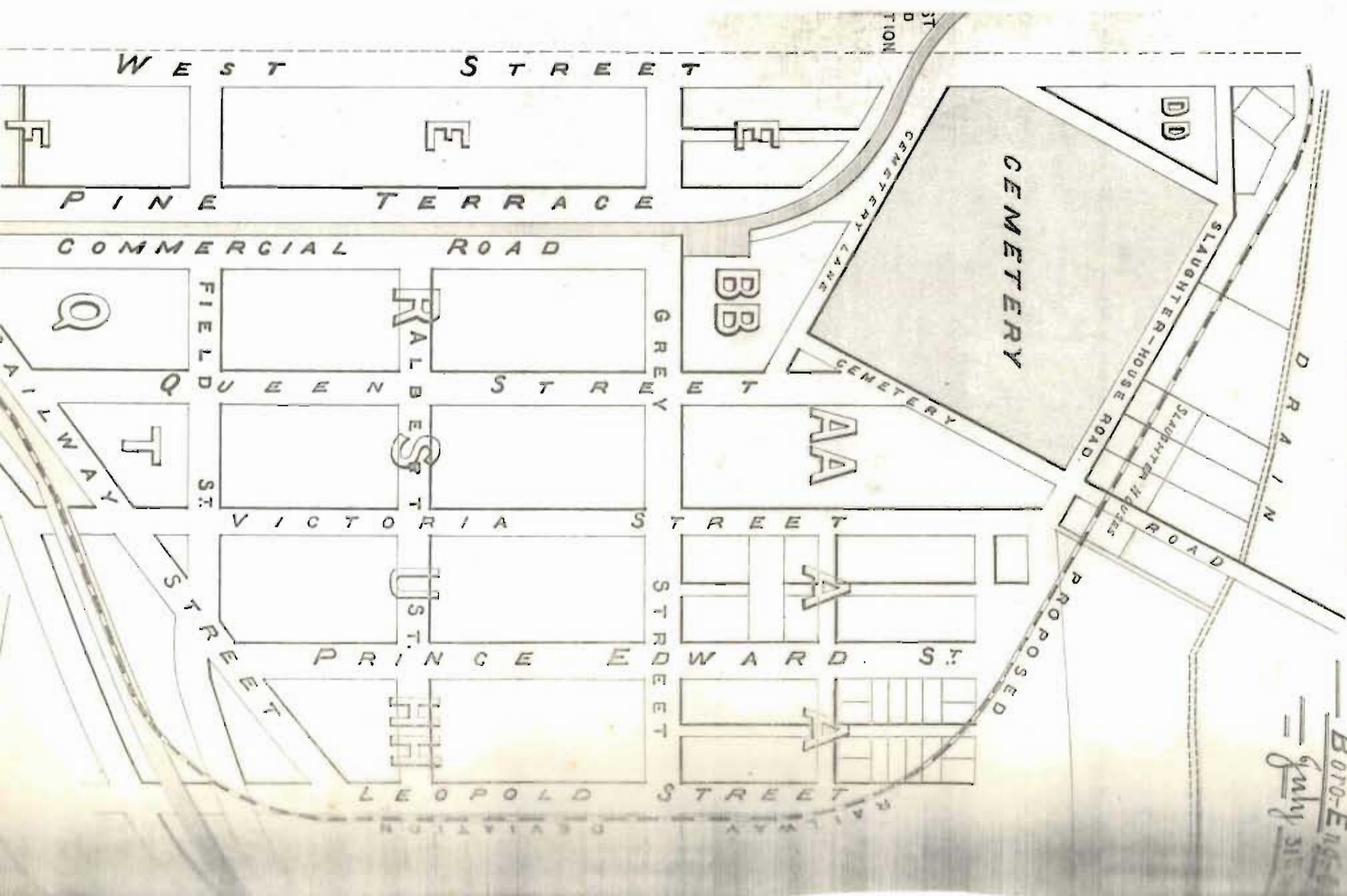
<sup>23</sup> N.G.R. Minute Book 38, 10 July 1860.

# PROPOSED RAILWAY DEVIATION

Diagram 4  
 Minute, 30 July 1888

SCALE 6 CHAINS — 1 INCH —

BORO-ENGINEER  
 30 July 1888



were incurred and failure to obtain a Natal Government loan<sup>24</sup> forced the Directors to issue a further 500 shares at £10 each.<sup>25</sup> This Bill which was sanctioned by the Lieutenant-Governor on 3 August 1863, permitted the N.R.C. not only to extend the line along Pine Terrace, but to lease the line as well.<sup>26</sup>

The N.R.C. showed a profit in 1863.<sup>27</sup> At a meeting of shareholders on 10 November 1863, it was therefore decided by sixteen votes to three not to lease the line. C.J. Forde had been appointed by the Company Directors on 25 September 1863 as the new Manager. Boats were bought from one of the leading merchants (and previous Mayor of Durban), G.C. Cato, for £950 at the end of 1863 for loading and unloading vessels outside the bar.<sup>28</sup> With the N.R.C. riding the wave of prosperity, schemes were contemplated to order a new locomotive, trucks, and rails.<sup>29</sup>

Proposals for railway extension to unlock hinterland trade, were heatedly discussed in the Natal press and at various public meetings in Natal during the period 1860-74. British investors were also attracted. Durban and Pietermaritzburg citizens both campaigned for

<sup>24</sup> Ibid. 39, 12 August and 17 December 1862, and 6 January 1863.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., 6 January 1862.

<sup>26</sup> Cadiz, Ordinances, Laws, Proclamations of Natal 1843-1870, vol.1, pp.432-41. It became known as the 'Law for amending the Law entitled the Law for the Incorporation of the Natal Railway Company, passed on 21 June 1859' and sanctioned the creation of 500 new shares; the extension of the line along Pine Terrace and permitted Directors to lease the line.

<sup>27</sup> N.G.R. Minute Book 39, 6 November 1863. See Appendix L.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 25 September, 10 November and 9 December 1863; Natal Mercury, 5 February 1864.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

the immediate extension of this form of transport to form a great trunk route to the interior republics.<sup>30</sup> When the matter was discussed during the 1861 session of the Natal Legislative Council, the debate was noteworthy for the contempt with which many members referred to the Cape. A previous Mayor, J.R. Goodricke (parliamentary member for Durban and leading merchant), was cheered when he declared that 'Natal, as an English settlement, must be ahead, not behind the antiquated old colony next door.'<sup>31</sup> The Attorney-General also declared that Natal had far outstripped the Cape 'in enterprise, in intelligence and general progress',<sup>32</sup> and boasted that the colonists of Natal had so far 'pushed forward their own interests, relying on no connection with the Cape or on any old community, but on themselves alone.'<sup>33</sup>

Both the sugar and coal trade were considered serious incentives for railway extension. Benjamin Greenacre (referred to in Chapters 3 and 6),<sup>34</sup> was especially involved, owning coal mining assets in northern Natal. The Directors of the N.R.C. received a letter on 4 April 1864 from F.B. Elliot, Secretary to the newly-formed Natal Central Railway Company, based in England, which had close affiliations with the Natal Coal Company.<sup>35</sup> The Natal Central Railway Company proposed to issue 30 000 shares at £20 each, giving it a capital of £600 000. Their farsighted object was to build an

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<sup>30</sup> Natal Witness, 29 June 1860; Natal Mercury 8 September 1861.

<sup>31</sup> Natal Mercury, 22 August 1861: Natal Legislative Debates.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> Leverton, 'Benjamin Greenacre', in Dictionary of South African Biography, 3, pp.344-5.

<sup>35</sup> N.G.R. Minute Book 39, 4 April 1864.

inter-city line between Durban and Pietermaritzburg,<sup>36</sup> and from Pietermaritzburg to the coalfields in the Klip River County. Elliot in a letter dated 4 April 1864 offered to buy the Durban-Point link from the N.R.C. to consolidate these proposed lines through to the Durban harbour. It was agreed by Directors and Shareholders alike to accept the offer and draft a bill for selling the line. This proposal was submitted to the Legislative Council,<sup>37</sup> but fell through when N.R.C. Directors on 3 December 1864 decided to break off all negotiations with the Natal Central Railway Company.<sup>38</sup> The Natal Government, although welcoming the railway development of Natal, were presumably cautioned by the British Government to proceed only when they had more mapped-out details in hand of the route the main line was to follow. Furthermore, the Natal Central Company's bill for the construction of a line from Durban to Pietermaritzburg was made contingent on the acceptance of the Natal Coal Company's scheme to be granted certain concessions of land, and this might have angered the indigenous population. Such an outcome was to be avoided.

In the meantime, both Directors and Shareholders of the N.R.C. naturally cast their eyes further afield to the sugar region along the North Coast (and eventually to the Thukela), where their closest export interests lay. Needless to say, some of the 'elite' group, Mayors Hugh Gillespie, William Hartley, William Palmer, Edward Snell,

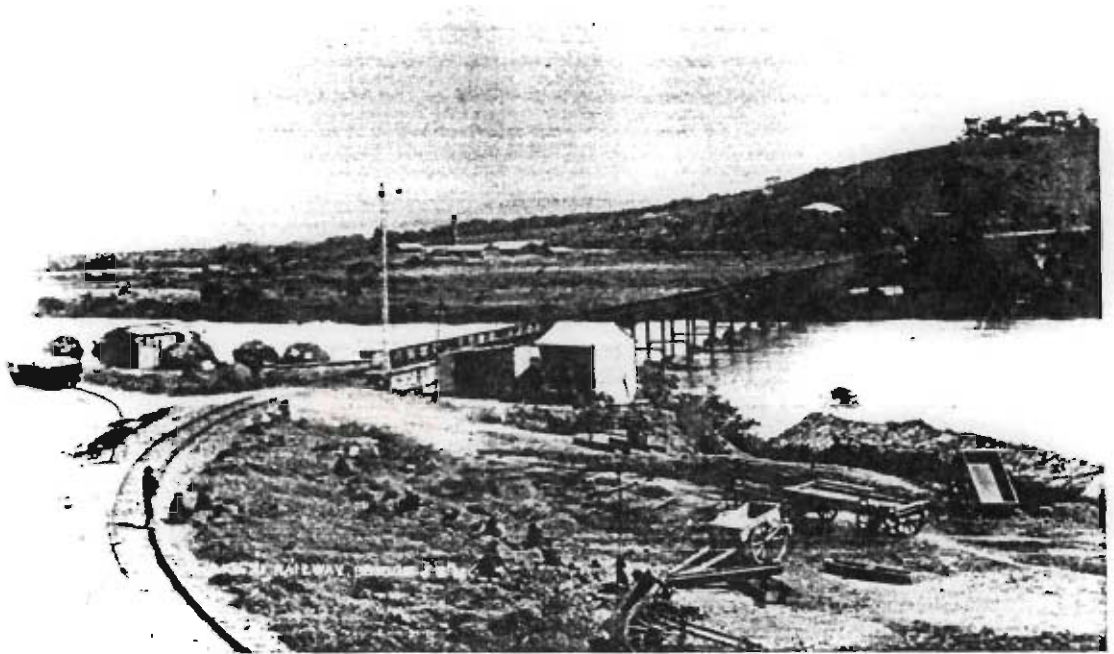
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<sup>36</sup> Natal Mercury, 5 May 1863 (Prospectus first advertised).

<sup>37</sup> N.G.R. Minute Book 39, 10 May 1864.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., 3 December 1864. See G.A.S. Cox, 'Railway Development between Durban and Pietermaritzburg, 1865-1880' (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of South Africa, Pretoria, 1979), pp.11-33 and Heydenrych and Martin, The Natal Main Line Story, pp.5-19 on proposed railway schemes, 1863-68.





The Umgeni Railway Bridge, built in 1877, destroyed by floods in 1917 and later replaced by a concrete and steel bridge. This Bridge was completed in December 1877. The first train to run over it from Durban to Avoca left Durban on 21st August, 1878. Its span was 1,040 feet, consisting of 26 spans of 40 feet cast iron screw piles with iron lattice girders.

Photo. (Copyright: Local History Museum).



B.W. Greenacre, J.W. Stranack, W.E. Roberts<sup>39</sup> and A.W. Evans<sup>40</sup> (referred to in Chapter 3), owned property in Victoria County. To expand these trading interests further while establishing a railroad system within Durban, British engineers had to work out the principles and techniques of building railway bridges that would link parts of the expanding city of Durban separated by rivers. Much of the necessary technology was developed during the construction of the railroad bridges crossing the closest Umgeni and Umbilo Rivers. In anticipation of future railway development (bridging the Umgeni River), the Directors of the N.R.C. as early as 20 February 1866 decided to apply to the Durban Town Council for one hectare of land as a terminus adjacent to the Victoria (Queen's) bridge. The bridge was opened in 1864,<sup>41</sup> but destroyed by floods in 1868. The second <sup>42</sup> railway bridge in 1877 was put to use in 1878. The building of bridges for railway extension beyond Durban's original boundary line to cross the Umgeni, Umbilo, Umhlatuzan and Umlaas Rivers symbolically emphasized Durban's growth, progress and power in the physical-spatial environment.

The North Coast Line, also referred to as the 'Industrial' Branch,<sup>43</sup> was started when the N.R.C. received authority on 24 August 1865 in the form of a Private Law from the Natal Government to

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<sup>39</sup> NGG: Supplement, vol.XXXIII, no.1872, 8 March 1881: Valuation Roll of Victoria County, 1877, pp.87-114.

<sup>40</sup> Spencer, British Settlers, vol.6, p.53.

<sup>41</sup> N.G.R. Minute Book 39, 20 February and 12 September 1866.

<sup>42</sup> Campbell, Natal Railways, p.60.

<sup>43</sup> So described by C.W. Francis Harrison in his book, Natal: An Illustrated Official Railway Guide and Handbook of General Information (London: Payne Jennings, 1903), p.153, for the main part was to serve 'the immense sugar and tea bearing areas'.

extend the line to the edge of the Umgeni River. This line became a joint undertaking between the Natal Government, who financed and constructed it for the easy conveyance of stone from the Umgeni Quarry for Harbour Works, and the N.R.C., who leased it from them for fifteen years.<sup>44</sup> The line was completed in January 1867 and on Friday, 25 January 1867 the Natal Mercury proclaimed this day, '...as being the real beginning of our colonial railway system.... It is the first section of the great northern trunk line...'<sup>45</sup> The same issue of the newspaper also stressed its importance to the sugar industry, as it would 'be an immense boost to the planter, beaten down as he is to the merest minimum of profit.'<sup>46</sup> The second locomotive, the 'D'Urban', shipped from England, was also used for conveyance of such heavy duty cargo. The signing of the 15 year lease between the Colonial Secretary, Major Erskine, and the Directors of the N.R.C. on 18 February 1867 put the N.R.C. officially in control of a total of 6½ miles (10 kilometres) of railway line, operated by 2 locomotives, 'Natal' and 'D'Urban'.<sup>47</sup> The Natal Mercury of 9 November reported as follows:

'The Umgeni Railway is now constantly bringing in large quantities of sugar. Our belief is that this short line will prove such a boon to Victoria County, that ere long it will be proposed to extend it to Verulam.'<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> See Appendix N for Plan B. More money, approximately £8 500 was needed to pay for the new locomotive which had recently arrived, repair the wharf and repay the £5 000 borrowed from the Natal Bank at a high rate of interest. See N.G.R. Minute Book 39, 14 September 1865. The Natal Government compromised by making a loan of £3 000 available to the N.R.C., using the new locomotive, D'Urban, as security. With this money in hand the Directors finally agreed on the terms of the lease after making several amendments. See N.G.R. Minute Book 39, 15 December 1865.

<sup>45</sup> Natal Mercury, 25 January 1867.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., 9 November 1867.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

An economic upswing from the 1870s, with increased sugar exports, coupled with the diamond discoveries in Griqualand West, had a corresponding effect on the finances of the N.R.C.<sup>49</sup> All this happened after a period of depression in Natal (1866-70) connected with conditions in Britain. Shareholders were accordingly paid a dividend of five per cent in February 1872.<sup>50</sup> The third locomotive, the 'Perseverance' was ordered from London and arrived on 1 December 1875 at a cost of £2 668, which included freight charges.<sup>51</sup>

By 1869-70, the only railways in South Africa were the ten kilometre stretch between Durban/Point/Umgeni Stations, the Cape Town-Wellington line and the Salt River-Wynberg line.<sup>52</sup> The significance, nevertheless, of the N.R.C. undertaking lies in that it linked the Point (the landing place of goods and passengers at the harbour) with the market place in central Durban (East and West Ends connected formed the central business district). The line to the Umgeni River (a joint Government venture) linked this growing suburb with central Durban, forming something resembling a town. Durban's colonial urban development was given a boost as the town of Durban could spread itself in a linear direction following the beginning of a railway line to the north. It was gradually extended to Victoria County and Zululand,<sup>53</sup> where a sugar economy for Natal was

<sup>49</sup> Heydenrych and Martin, The Natal Main Line Story, pp.2-3.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.; Natal Mercury, 17 February and 8 August 1872.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., 2 December 1875.

<sup>52</sup> O.S.N. Nock, Railways of the World: Railways of Southern Africa (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1971), p.19; Eric Rosenthal, Schooners and Skyscrapers (Cape Town: Timmins, 1963), pp.105-7; Campbell, The Birth and Development of the Natal Railways, pp.1-5.

<sup>53</sup> Harrison, Official Railway Guide, pp.153-73, gives an illuminating description of this Branch.

slowly evolving.

This self-sufficient steam-powered railway or all-around carrier-system, was as has been seen, for the first fifteen years (1859-75) in the hands of a private company run by settler elite, and thereafter it became state-owned. By Law no. 6 of 1875,<sup>54</sup> The N.R.C became the Natal Government Railways (N.G.R.). Law no. 5 of 1875 empowered the N.G.R. to 'raise a Loan for the Construction and Equipment of certain Railways in the Colony of Natal'.<sup>55</sup> The Natal Mercury of 9 February 1875 printed the railway extension plans for Natal made by the British Colonial Secretary, Lord Carnarvon. The newspaper commented that the proposed scheme was basically on the same lines as the failed Melbourne Company scheme, except that it was to be built on a gradual basis.<sup>56</sup> Law no.4 of 1875 formally disallowed Laws no.3, 6 and 11 of 1874,<sup>57</sup> which provided for the inauguration of the Melbourne Company scheme for railway extension to

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<sup>54</sup> NGG, vol.XXVIII, no.1570, 11 January 1876, p.8: Law No.6 1875, which provided for the taking over by the Colonial Government of the lines of Railway between the Point and the Town of Durban, and between the Town of Durban and the River Umgeni.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., pp.7-8: Law no.5 1875 to raise a loan.

<sup>56</sup> Natal Mercury, 9 February and 18 May 1875. The latter edition reported that the new system would cost £9 532 per mile, whereas the Melbourne scheme would have cost £6 950 per mile.

<sup>57</sup> Various points of the Railway Law of 1872 (with which J.W. Melbourne, an ardent promoter for railway extension to the interior, was armed when he left Natal to gain the approval of the Colonial Office and to repeal the railway laws of 1864), was clarified when the Natal Legislative Council passed these three laws towards the end of 1873, although they were actually signed in 1874. See Cadiz, Ordinances, Laws and Proclamations, 1870-1878, vol.2, pp.1038-84; Heydenrych and Martin, The Natal Main Line Story, pp.21-3.

the interior in the early 1870s.<sup>58</sup> Extensions were eventually made along the South Coast, with a branch line which deviated to the Bluff and a further stretch along the North Coast and inland.<sup>59</sup> Central Durban and the harbour came to be physically linked to the urban districts with the people and the trade that they had to offer. The expansion of the city was stimulated by this urban transport, enabling many people to separate home from workplace and so the railway system relieved the density and congestion of the city centre.

Sir Henry Bulwer, the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal, inaugurated the operations of the N.G.R. on 1 January 1876. He turned the first sod of the first stage of the main line from Durban to Pietermaritzburg, which was eventually to link the two commercial centres of Durban and Pietermaritzburg.<sup>60</sup> This ceremony was attended by Durban's Mayor, Benjamin Greenacre and members of the Town Council. The change-over of the Durban-Point line to the N.G.R. officially occurred on 1

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<sup>58</sup> Negotiations between the N.R.C. and J.W. Melbourne dealing with the period from 25 September 1867 to 19 August 1873 recorded in the N.G.R. Minute Book for this period, was lost by fire. The Natal Mercury, however, provided some insights. See Cox, 'Railway Development between Durban and Pietermaritzburg, 1865-1880', pp.11-33; Heydenrych and Martin, The Natal Main Line Story, pp.19-20, and Heydenrych, 'Railway Development in Natal to 1895', in Guest and Sellers (eds.), Enterprise and Exploitation in a Victorian Colony, pp.52-4, for more coverage of the Melbourne project (1869-74).

<sup>59</sup> NGG, vol.XXVIII, no.1570, 11 January 1878, p.8: Law no.6 1875 entitled the Natal Government to borrow money to the amount not exceeding £1 200 000 for the construction of these three lines and for the purchase of the property of the N.R.C. on or before 1 July 1876 on such terms to be fixed by arbitration, provided that the sum did not exceed £40 000.

<sup>60</sup> Natal Mercury, 4 January 1876.

January 1877.<sup>61</sup> At the same time the British (and Cape) standard gauge was replaced by the more economical 1,1 metre gauge.<sup>62</sup> To give effect to this new arrangement, a second line of rails of the new gauge was completed at the beginning of 1878 on the Point-Durban line and time-tables were for the first time issued.<sup>63</sup> This take-over of the railways by the Natal Government did not lessen the role played by the ruling elite who controlled the urban development of the city. Mayor H.W. Currie reported on the extension of the main line in the annual Mayor's Minute of 1879 as follows:

'Negotiations have been amicably adjusted as to the land required for Railway purposes, viz. 45 feet from Gardiner Street to the top of Pine Terrace, running thence to 125 feet beyond the West Street crossing, and from thence 30 feet to the Umbilo, except at 3 points where the line necessitated an increased width, and the fencing in, so requisite, is now being carried out.'<sup>64</sup>

Level crossing barriers were erected on either side of West Street in the vicinity of Russell Street, which became known as the West End Gates.<sup>65</sup> The maximum speed of trains and engines over any portion of the railway in operation was not to exceed 24 kilometres an hour. An even stricter restriction applied to the more central part of

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<sup>61</sup> This became Law No.18 1876, signed on 11 November 1876 and repealed Law No.6 1875 over which controversy existed. See Cadiz, Ordinances, Laws and Proclamations, 1870-1878, vol.2, pp.689-90; Heydenrych, 'Railway Development in Natal to 1895', in Guest and Sellers (eds.), Enterprise and Exploitation in a Victorian Colony, p.55.

<sup>62</sup> Rosenthal, Schooners and Skyscrapers, pp.110-11. Generally, the narrower the gauge, the less costly to construct and equip. The curvature can be more severe and less space is required. Overall construction is lighter, which was ideal for the hilly Natal landscape with its steep and narrow places.

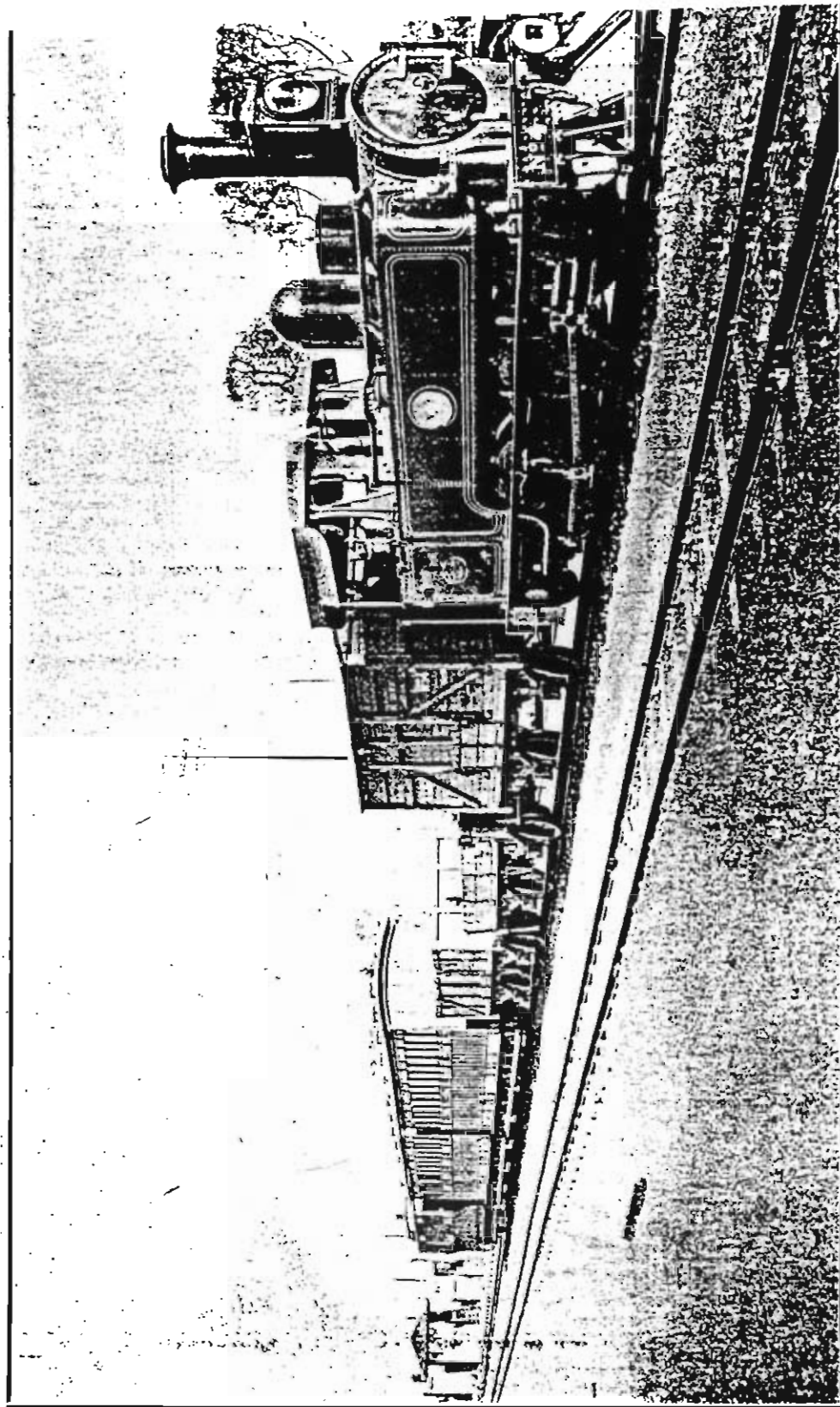
<sup>63</sup> Campbell, The Birth and Development of the Natal Railways, p.49.

<sup>64</sup> See Diagram 3. Durban's Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1879, p.5.

<sup>65</sup> Campbell, The Birth and Development of the Natal Railways, p.67.



## NATAL MERCURY PICTORIAL.



HOW WE TRAVELLED IN 1877.

Type of Natal Government Engine, drawing train of 4-wheeled mixed vehicles in 1877. Weight of engine 25 tons



Durban, between Durban Station and the West End Halt, where 10 kilometres an hour was stipulated, and 3 kilometres an hour over the Gardiner Street Crossing.<sup>44</sup>

The Natal Government Railways Law, no.4 of 1875, sanctioned the construction of three main arteries for railway construction by the N.G.R.,<sup>45</sup> that is the inter-city link between Durban and Pietermaritzburg; the inter-suburban South Coast link from Durban Station along the southern coastal contour lines to Isipingo; and a further extension of the existing inter-suburban North Coast link to Verulam to cater for the sugar industry even more effectively.

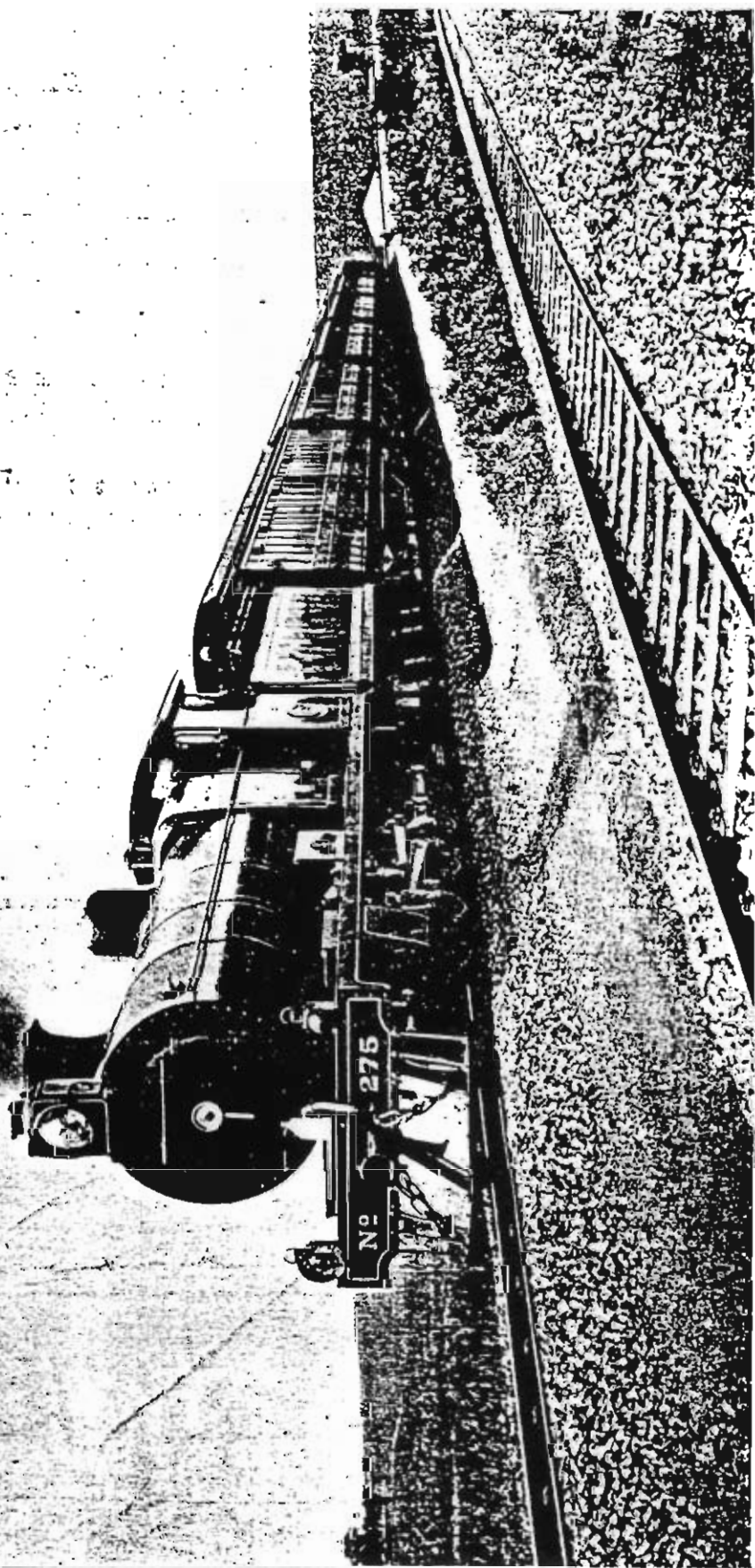
The Durban-Pietermaritzburg link constructed between 1876 and 1880 was a first step taken by the N.G.R. to capture the Overberg trade of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal.<sup>46</sup> This connection of two key centres in Natal made their growth possible: it was a symbol of 'improvement'. Further concentrations of suburban growth along this train route also developed. The reason was that this transportation service made it possible for people to keep contact with the market place and harbour for import and export of their agricultural produce. A great stride forward was made when Pinetown, the boundary for the established suburban residences, was reached on 4 September

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<sup>44</sup> Ibid., p.108.

<sup>45</sup> Heydenrych and Martin, The Natal Main Line Story, pp.21-3.

<sup>46</sup> Natal Mercury, 2 December 1880; Cox, 'Railway Development between Durban and Pietermaritzburg, 1865-1880', pp.166-70.



HOW WE TRAVEL, IN 1905.

"Hendrie" Tender Engine, weight 106 tons 14 cwt., built 1905. The above photograph represents one of this type of engine drawing Dining and Sleeping Corridor Train which conveys travellers from Durban to the Transvaal and vice-versa.

(Copyright : Natal Archives, P.M.B.) Natal Mercury Pictorial, 1905, vol. 1, p. 103.  
(Painted by Robinson Ltd., Durban, 1905.)

1878.<sup>69</sup> These suburbs were later incorporated into the Greater Durban area. A.H. Tatlow and C.W. Francis Harrison, who published Railway Guides, both provided insight into economic activities pursued by earlier settlers along this vividly described train route.<sup>70</sup> After leaving Durban Station, stopping at Berea Station (serving the Berea suburb, which contained many magnificent homes of Mayors mentioned in Chapter 3), and proceeding to the Congella Station<sup>71</sup> (where the Government was undertaking the 'Congella Scheme' for Durban harbour improvements<sup>72</sup>), the line continued to the Umbilo Station<sup>73</sup> (the Durban Borough boundary), to Finetown (Durban County border), and beyond.

The Umbilo River was still the demarcated boundary of the Durban Borough, but once this obstacle was overcome by the first Umbilo railway bridge (tested on 23 August 1877 by 2 steam locomotives

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<sup>69</sup> A.H. Tatlow, Natal Province Descriptive Guide and Official Handbook (Durban: South African Railway Printing Works, 1911), pp.105-6; Harrison, Official Railway Guide, pp.41-2. Both these Guides are very informative on suburban growth points along the train routes.

<sup>70</sup> Tatlow, Descriptive Guide, pp.97-106, and Harrison, Railway Guide, pp.33-42.

<sup>71</sup> Mayor Ellis Brown owned a large residential plot here stretching to the Bay. Durban Local History Museum: File 572133: 581 B 'Ellis Brown'; Levertov 'Ellis Brown', in Dictionary of South African Biography, 3, pp.112-13.

<sup>72</sup> Tatlow, Descriptive Guide, pp.97-106; Harrison, Railway Guide, pp.33-42. This comprehensive plan for the improvement of the inner harbour proved beneficial, for example, to the timber industry in which Mayor J.W. Leuchars was a great stakeholder as discussed in Chapter 6.

<sup>73</sup> Mayor Thomas O'Flaherty's wife's brickmaking business of which he was a shareholder flourished at Umbilo. See Spencer, British Settlers, vol.2, p.68. O'Flaherty's father-in-law, Samuel Beningfield, also owned valuable property in Umbilo. See Natal Mercury, 24 January 1855.

Credit for much of the further rapid growth of the main and branch lines in Natal must be given to the British settler, David Hunter (later knighted), who distinguished himself as Railway Manager from 27 August 1879, when only eighty kilometres of track had been laid. So successful was he that he at a later stage joined the ranks of Durban's settler elite, when, as a recognized leader in society, he became a Member of Parliament.<sup>78</sup>

The link of two cities happened when the train steamed into 'the second largest station on the line and alighted at the historic Capital of the Colony - Pietermaritzburg',<sup>79</sup> on 1 December 1880.<sup>80</sup> A.W. Kershaw, Mayor of Pietermaritzburg, and members of the Town Council, welcomed with much pleasure Durban's Mayor, William Arbuckle jnr. and Councillors on their arrival in the city of Pietermaritzburg on this momentous occasion. They were greeted as the 'pioneers of railway communication'<sup>81</sup> and,

'... we hail with great satisfaction the probable disappearance of every vestige of division between the coast and upcountry districts now bound together by a new tie'.<sup>82</sup>

Mayor William Arbuckle and his Council responded by viewing the event of this railway link as

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<sup>78</sup> Leverton, 'David Hunter', in Dictionary of South African Biography, 1, pp.395-6.

<sup>79</sup> Harrison, Railway Guide, p.50. See Martin, 'The coming of the railway to Pietermaritzburg', in Laband and Haswell (eds.), Pietermaritzburg 1838-1988, pp.135-7; William Bizley, 'Pietermaritzburg and the railway', in Laband and Haswell (eds.), ibid., pp.139-141.

<sup>80</sup> Natal Mercury, 2 December 1880; Natal Witness, 2 December 1880.

<sup>81</sup> Durban's Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1881: Annexure A, p.76.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid.



'...an occasion pregnant with the most important results as affecting the immediate future of the communities we respectively represent.'<sup>83</sup>

Business leaders in Durban and Pietermaritzburg respectively, who formed the first Railway Company in 1859, saw part of a dream of inland expansion to the coalfields of Klip River County, where some had coal mining assets (mentioned in Chapter 6),<sup>84</sup> realized twenty years later. Their agricultural interests, serviced by the railroad along the route, presumably also received a great boost with many of them owning farms in these fertile maize, wattle, vegetable and dairy-farming regions.<sup>85</sup>

The period 1880-1907 saw the development of the South Coast line. The line was to stretch from South Coast Junction to Isipingo<sup>86</sup> (where the Umlaas River was crossed by one of the largest railway bridges built in Natal, one of 354 metres), as well as across another railway bridge built over the Umhlatusan River.<sup>87</sup> The railway line in its southerly direction from South Coast Junction reached Clairmont (which became the centre of brickfields and stone quarries,

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<sup>83</sup> Ibid., p.79.

<sup>84</sup> MSCE 41/207: Deceased Estate of Benjamin Wesley Greenacre, 1911, who had vested interests in the coal mining areas of Vryheid, Dundee, Newcastle and Ladysmith. See MSCE 19/4: Deceased Estate of William Roberts, 1903: Included Inventory, 1911 and Appraisement, 1913, showing his movable shares in Elandsplaagte and St. Georges Collieries.

<sup>85</sup> Mayor George Cato owned two large farms in this area, notably 'Honing Krantz' adjoining 'Doorn Rug' at Cato Ridge. See MSCE 8/188: Deceased Estate of George Cato, 1894; Spencer, British Settlers, vol.4, pp.55-9.

<sup>86</sup> Natal Mercury, 30 April 1880, advertised this line to Isipingo being open to the public. See Tatlow, Descriptive Guide, p.243, who described the line reaching North Shepstone by July 1901, and from there to South Shepstone by September 1907.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid., p.244; Harrison, Railway Guide, p.179.

utilized for harbour works),<sup>88</sup> and from there the Bluff line radiated.<sup>89</sup> This system was destined to play a more important role in the development of Durban harbour once the hinterland for coal was tapped more lucratively (discussed in Chapter 6). The significance of this South Coast rail connection of a sugar-belt with Durban harbour, was brought home by the fact that the output of sugar for the seasons 1909-1910 was 9 000 tons, a marked increase on former output.<sup>90</sup> By 1910, sugar producing companies held 55 688 acres of land on both coasts.<sup>91</sup> The emergence of companies, for instance Reynolds Bros, Ltd, Natal Estates Ltd, Tongaat Ltd and C.G. Smith Co., 'intensified the hold of merchant capital upon certain sections of the Natal industry'.<sup>92</sup> So much so that by the First World War, 'virtually the whole of the milling capacity of the South Coast industry was in some way directly connected with the C.G. Smith Co'.<sup>93</sup>

The South Coast line extension naturally coincided with the North Coast line extension. Train halts were encountered on routes leaving Durban Station and progressing to the Umgeni River. These were later turned into stations, such as Montpelier, the name of which was changed to Greyville in May 1892 and which opened as a station in

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<sup>88</sup> Ibid., p.178; Tatlow, Descriptive Guide, p.243.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid. See Figure 7.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., pp.264-68.

<sup>91</sup> Richardson, 'Sugar Industry', in Guest and Sellers (eds ), Enterprise and Exploitation in a Victorian Colony, p.192.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid., p.193.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid.

1886.<sup>94</sup> Transport associated with horse racing had begun to attract the attention of Railway Headquarters and to boost revenue. Railway locomotive sheds were later placed here.<sup>95</sup> Stamford Hill, the following halt, where a station was recorded in 1877, was also becoming a favourite residential suburb. J. Ellis Brown<sup>96</sup> and E. Pickering owned property here.<sup>97</sup> Harrison provided an insight into some of the main economic activities pursued. Apparently the principal iron-foundry of Durban was situated here, as well as extensive wool-washing mills, a large coffee factory, a tannery, a distillery and a cigar and tobacco factory. Coastal fruits were grown in large quantities, and maize cultivation was by no means un lucrative.<sup>98</sup> Tatlow also mentions the Lion Match Company<sup>99</sup> in which J.W. Leuchars had movable shares<sup>100</sup> which by the turn of the century chose premises here. Next, at Umgeni, brickmaking was carried out, as well as stone quarrying for street-hardening and harbour purposes. George Payne, B.W. Greenacre, E. Pickering, H.W. Currie, H. Gillespie and William Palmer owned property here in the late 1870s.<sup>101</sup> The Coronation Brick and Tile company had chosen

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<sup>94</sup> Campbell, The Birth of the South African Railways, p.117.

<sup>95</sup> Harrison, Railway Guide, p.153; Tatlow, Descriptive Guide, p.263.

<sup>96</sup> Natal Advertiser: Supplement, 24 October 1899.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid., 10 September 1909.

<sup>98</sup> Harrison, Railway Guide, p.153.

<sup>99</sup> Tatlow, Descriptive Guide, p.pp.263-4.

<sup>100</sup> MSCE 5565/1920: Deceased Estate of John Walter Leuchars, 1920.

<sup>101</sup> NGG: Supplement, vol.XXXIII, no.1872, 8 March 1881: Valuation Roll of Durban Borough 1877, pp.162-183.



premises here by the turn of the century. At the Umgeni Village itself, John Millar, A.W. Evans, J.R. Goodricke and Hugh Gillespie, owned property already recorded in 1868.<sup>102</sup>

Once the river was crossed, Victoria County was reached 'through extensive acreages of sugar cane.'<sup>103</sup> Mayor W.E. Robarts, as previously mentioned, owned large tracts of land in this fertile sugar county, for example his Mount Moreland property and land at Umhlanga Rocks.<sup>104</sup> Harrison gave a lively account of the line passing through Verulam and Tongaat to Stanger with stopping places at Mount Moreland and La Mercy.<sup>105</sup> Here the tea plantations of Messrs J.L. Hulett & Sons, Ltd., one of Natal's colonial elite families, formed one of the leading features. A light railway ran from Stanger Station to the factory, a distance of eight miles, operated and paid for by the Company. A mill was also constructed on one of the estates on the Umhlali River for sugar manufacturing.<sup>106</sup> Harrison described the line from Stanger to Zululand, which territory was annexed to, and became a province of, Natal in December 1897,<sup>107</sup> heralding a new progressive era in the history of the sugar industry.<sup>108</sup>

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<sup>102</sup> Natal Mercury, 13 February 1868.

<sup>103</sup> Harrison, Railway Guide, p.155.

<sup>104</sup> MSCE 19/4 :Deceased Estate of William Robarts, 1911 and Appraisement, 1913.

<sup>105</sup> Harrison, Railway Guide, pp.155-62.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid., pp.166-8.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid., pp.168-73.

<sup>108</sup> Richardson, 'Sugar Industry', in Guest and Sellers (eds ), Enterprise and Exploitation in a Victorian Colony, pp.191-4.

The cause for railway extension beyond Durban and Pietermaritzburg was clearly linked with boosting the economy. By tapping the richly productive region beyond, the accession of so large and lucrative a trade to the Port of Durban was seen as the means rapidly to enrich the Port, and, with it, indirectly, the entire colony.<sup>109</sup> Durban elite figure-heads in the Natal Government, namely John Robinson<sup>110</sup> and Harry Escombe,<sup>111</sup> were ardent promoters of such extension.

Town building in Durban and Pietermaritzburg was to receive a further boost when work on the Ladysmith extension was started in 1882. This extension from Pietermaritzburg to Ladysmith (the point where the trade routes from the Orange Free State and Transvaal converged), was extensively covered by Heydenrych and Martin in The Natal Main Line Story.<sup>112</sup> Harrison in his Railway Guide<sup>113</sup> also gave a descriptive account of the train journey to Ladysmith with intermediate stopping places. The line, although opened only on 21 June 1886 due to economic fluctuations, was hailed in the Natal press as most lucrative for the Natal trade<sup>114</sup> because 'it was only about 15 kilometres from the nearest coal deposits - those at

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<sup>109</sup> Natal Almanac, Directory and Yearly Register, 1867, pp.76-9.

<sup>110</sup> Sir John Robinson, A Life Time in South Africa: Being the Recollections of the First Premier of Natal (London: Smith and Elder, 1900), pp.XXXV-XXVII.

<sup>111</sup> Natal Mercury, 2 August 1880.

<sup>112</sup> Heydenrych and Martin, The Natal Main Line Story, pp.39-54; Heydenrych, 'Railway Development in Natal to 1895', in Guest and Sellers (eds.), pp.56-9.

<sup>113</sup> Harrison, Railway Guide, pp.63-75,80-96,97-101.

<sup>114</sup> Natal Mercury, 22 June 1886; *ibid.*, 5 January 1887; *ibid.*, 3 January 1887; Natal Witness, 23 June 1886.

Elandslaagte'.<sup>115</sup> Several colliery companies were formed during 1888 and 1889 to take immediate advantage of the new railway. By far the most lucrative were the 'English Syndicate', the Elandslaagte Colliery, floated by the sugar magnates C.G. Smith and F. Reynolds, and the Dundee Coal Co., chaired by Benjamin Greenacre, and financially supported by the shipping firm King and Sons.<sup>116</sup>

'Until the early 1900s the Dundee Coal Co. was pre-eminent, absorbing the neighbouring "Coalfield" property, starting its own railway line in 1888 (taken over by the Government in 1896) to meet the main line at Glencoe and, in 1890, contributing almost two-thirds of the colony's total output.'<sup>117</sup>

Railway extensions to the borders of Natal, namely at Charlestown and Harrismith, were extensively covered by Heydenrych and Martin in The Natal Main Line Story.<sup>118</sup> Heydenrych described the last stretch to the gold-fields, (1891-1895), in 'Railway Development in Natal to 1895'<sup>119</sup>, so this aspect needs no further elaboration. It is enough to mention that prosperity was brought not only to Durban by the opening up of the Transvaal gold-fields, but to the whole of South Africa. Anthony Christopher in Southern Africa (as discussed in Chapter 4), summed it up by saying that the discovery of minerals, which in turn brought railway development, saw to the 'transformation

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<sup>115</sup> Heydenrych, 'Railway Development', in Guest and Sellers (eds ), Enterprise and Exploitation in a Victorian Colony, pp.58-9.

<sup>116</sup> Edgecombe and Guest, 'Coal Industry', in *ibid.*, p.316.

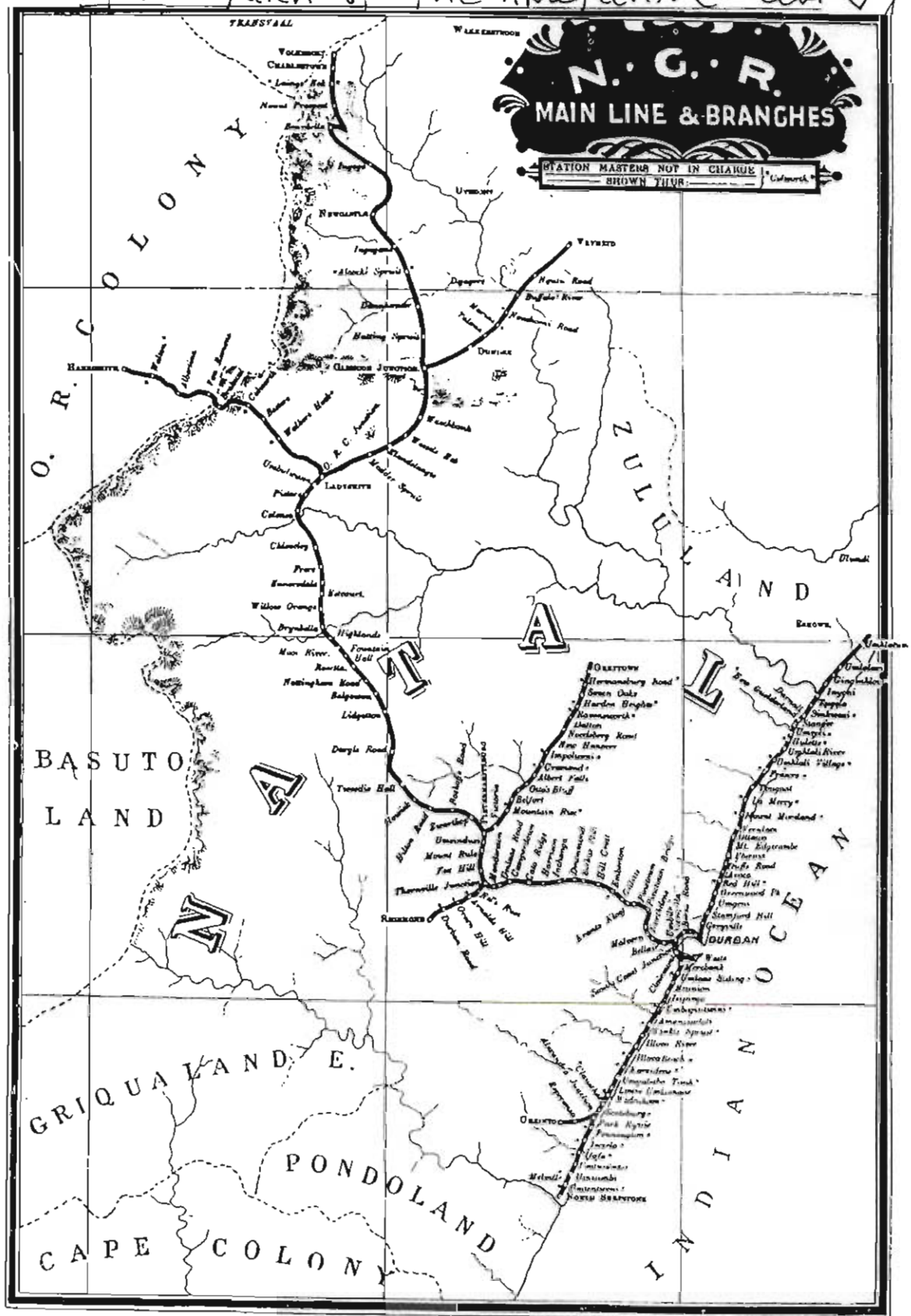
<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, p.317.

<sup>118</sup> Heydenrych and Martin, The Natal Main Line Story, pp.55-63; 65-75.

<sup>119</sup> Heydenrych 'Railway Development in Natal to 1895', in Guest and Sellers (eds ), Enterprise and Exploitation in a Victorian Colony, pp.61-3; Heydenrych and Martin, The Natal Main Line Story, pp.77-92.

## N.G.R. Main Line and Branches

by the turn of the nineteenth century



Source: C.W. Haddon, Natal: An Illustrated Official Railway Guide and Handbook of General Information (London: Payne Jennings, 1903), p. 279.

of urban southern Africa', from 'a basically backward pastoral region into a modern industrial state.' To Christopher, such growth is to be seen as 'the key to an understanding of the historical geography of Southern Africa.'<sup>120</sup> This extensive railway development linking Durban harbour with the mining towns, as well as with the coastal sugar belt,<sup>121</sup> consolidated Durban's position as the 'dominant urban centre of Natal'<sup>122</sup> (as discussed in Chapter 4). It enabled Durban to be closely compared as port city to Cape Town.<sup>123</sup> The Cape Railways, during the month of May 1896, transported a total of 23 183 tonnes, whereas the Natal system only a few months after the opening of the rail connection, conveyed 13 878 tonnes.<sup>124</sup> The Natal railways were in the year July 1895 to June 1896 responsible for a contribution of £745 703 to the colonial revenue, amounting to no less than 51 per cent of this revenue and already provided employment in 1890 for 2 606 Indians and 3 137 Africans.<sup>125</sup>

In the meantime, Durban Mayor J.J. Hillier and fellow Councillors, in a genial spirit of co-operation, which normally accompanied an upliftment of the economy, received communication from the Colonial Secretary in 1888 covering a sketch plan of a proposed deviation of the Main Line in central Durban, and the site of a new Railway

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<sup>120</sup> Christopher, Southern Africa, p.160.

<sup>121</sup> See Diagram 5 and Appendix W.

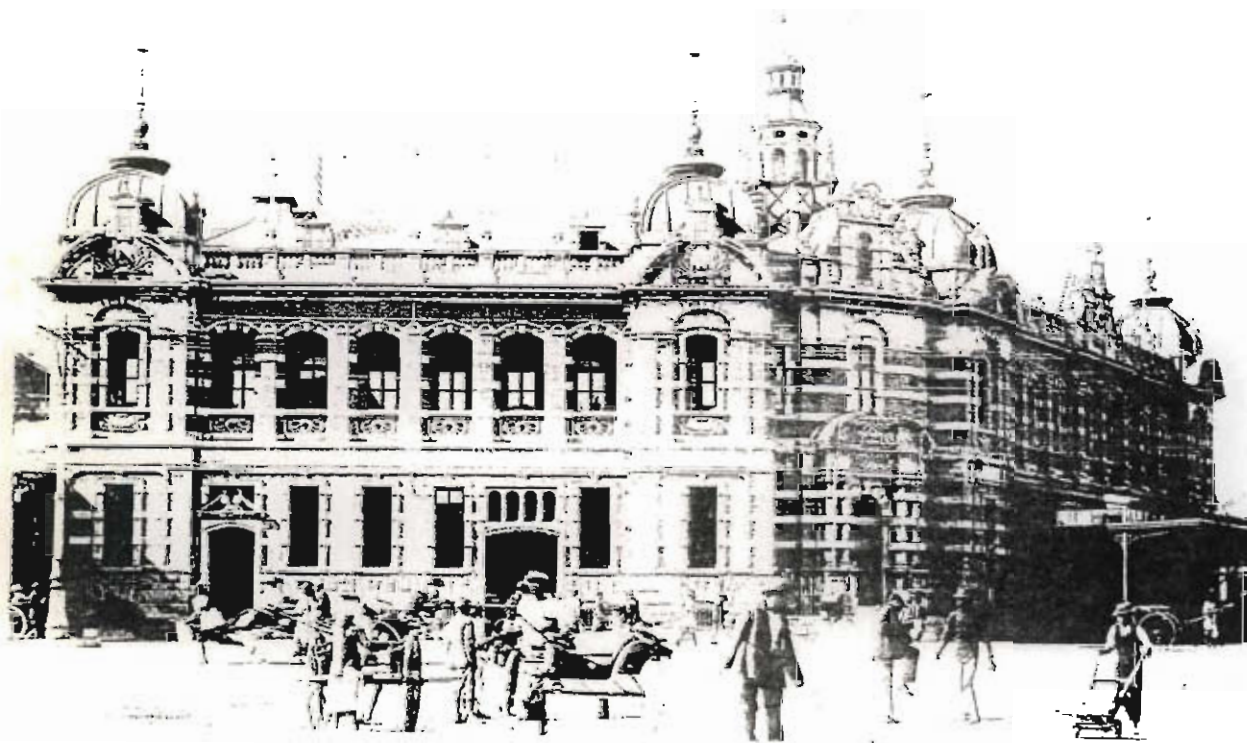
<sup>122</sup> T.J.D. Fair, 'Durban - Its Sphere of Influence as a Regional Capital' in South African Geographical Journal, 31, pp.90-2.

<sup>123</sup> See Appendix J, Table 9.

<sup>124</sup> Heydenrych, 'Railway Development', in Guest and Sellers (eds ), Enterprise and Exploitation in a Victorian Colony, pp.63-4.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid.

Durban's Railway Station 1898



A photograph of Durban's Railway Station, which was completed in 1898, before an extra two-storey were added to the building in 1903-4. Mrs A.T. Macbeth presented the photograph to the Local History Museum Collection, Old Court House, Alival Street, Durban, 4001.



Station.<sup>126</sup> The route suggested was considered objectionable by the ruling elite, as the area of disturbance (with its consequent compensation), comprised 45 freehold lots, and left the West End Halt in its present position near the cemetery. The Council, with the Borough Engineer, and David Hunter, the General Manager of the Railway Department, made a joint inspection of an improved route shown on the accompanying diagram. It was contemplated that the land thus set aside by the governing elite would be taken in exchange for the ground then occupied by the line of railway from Gardiner to St George's Street.<sup>127</sup> The Natal Government voted a sum of £35 000 in 1889 towards an estimated cost of the deviation, exclusive of the cost of £12 500 towards the new station. Hunter, at an interview with the whole Council Committee, intimated that the inability of the Council to contribute the sum of £17 500 had led to postponement of the proposed deviation by the Government.<sup>128</sup>

One of the first acts of the 1890 Council, headed by Mayor B.W. Greenacre, was to reverse this decision on the matter of the deviation of the railway from Pine Terrace, and to concede to the railway authorities all their wishes in respect of carrying out the new scheme. Dissatisfaction was also expressed by Greenacre at the delay in the construction of a new railway station for Durban 'as a discredit to our town.'<sup>129</sup> The deviation question, although settled, still dragged on during 1892. Greenacre expressed the hope

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<sup>126</sup> Durban's Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1888, pp.12-13. See Diagram 2.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid. See Diagrams 1 & 2.

<sup>128</sup> Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1889, pp. 14-15.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid., 31 July 1890, p.4.

that the next generation might have an opportunity of seeing what seemed doubtful to his generation - 'a station suited to the requirements of the Borough.'<sup>130</sup> The Town Council, headed by Mayor George Payne, during 1894 contributed £5 000 towards the cost of the railway deviation. Since this encroached upon private properties, they were forced to purchase most of these.<sup>131</sup> The new railway station was finally given the go-ahead when £15 000 was voted by Parliament in 1895 for the current year to make a start with it straightaway, as the deviation was nearing completion.<sup>132</sup> Mayors B. Greenacre and John Nicol, who took great pride in the beautification of the city of Durban, saw the completion of an imposing new Railway terminal in 1898, whereas Mayors E.L. Acutt and Ellis Brown presided in 1904 over the addition of two storeys made for managerial offices.<sup>133</sup> Respectability and prestige were gained from the adoption of the idea of the station as a civic adornment, a public building worthy to rank with the Town Hall in the Durban environment. The early Durban station was thus superseded at the turn of the nineteenth century 'by a large, decorated brick structure with a clock-tower in the civic Renaissance manner, with a fine overall trainshed behind'.<sup>134</sup> The Point Railway station was less impressive. The outcome of the deviation in central Durban, apart from shortening the route, was

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<sup>130</sup> Ibid., 31 July 1892, p.5.

<sup>131</sup> Ibid., 31 July 1894, p.7.

<sup>132</sup> Ibid., 31 July 1895, p.11.

<sup>133</sup> Ibid., 31 July 1903, pp.10-11; Henderson, Fifty Years, p.150. See illustration.

<sup>134</sup> Richards and MacKenzie, The Railway Station: A Social History, p.90. South of the Sahara, it was only in South Africa that stations were built on a European scale, and only here that stations were replaced by new and larger versions.

that 'the interesting legacy of the diagonal Alexander Street, and a strip of land in the middle of Pine Street',<sup>135</sup> was bequeathed. A later alteration to the railway system in Durban, nearing completion by 1898, was an overhead pedestrian bridge over the Main and North Coast lines of the N.G.R. near the junction of Prince Edward, Field and Railway Streets. The purpose was to provide easy access to the Ordnance Lands for pedestrians.<sup>136</sup> Another big railway scheme proposed for central Durban by David Hunter was an overhead railway from the Point to connect with the Main Line beyond Prince Edward bridge. Such a bridge would obviate any necessity for level crossings over the most important streets of the town.<sup>137</sup> This scheme materialised only in the post-Union period.

Through a 'market-orientated' service concept the N.G.R. greatly increased the patronage of passenger services. They sponsored and advertised cheap excursion tours in the local press, for instance the 'Queen's Birthday Holidays'. They also offered 'Sunday School Treats' to Merebank and Clairmont on the South Coast line to celebrate the Queen's Birthday.<sup>138</sup> On the latter occasion, the newspaper reported that '...there was one common centre of attraction, viz. the railway station, from which heavily laden trains were to emerge all the forenoon'.<sup>139</sup> This comment emphasized the role of railways as an integral part of the Durban community's leisure activities. The railroad service was made even more

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<sup>135</sup> Haswell, The Making of Durban's Townscape, p.9.

<sup>136</sup> Durban's Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1899, p.12.

<sup>137</sup> Ibid.

<sup>138</sup> Natal Mercury, 26 May 1880.

<sup>139</sup> Ibid.

remunerative by the introduction of extra services, for instance a parcel service. Hourly trains were also run between Durban and the Point.<sup>140</sup> To increase patronage, a cheaper rate was brought in for passenger fares for Africans (females excepted) travelling third class on these extensions to the various borders of Natal where labour in mining activities was in great demand.<sup>141</sup> Passenger fares, comforting reminders of an accepted class system, in which social divisions had been formally identified, were as follows:

	1st Class	2nd Class	3rd Class
SINGLE JOURNEY	6d.	4d.	2d.
RETURN	9d.	6d.	3d. <sup>142</sup>

'Britain set the pattern with three classes of travel and the concomitant gradation of station facilities. The rest of Europe followed',<sup>143</sup> as well as British counterparts in Durban. Additions made to the Durban Railway terminal in 1898 further emphasized this point when a separate building made provision for a ticket-office with two entrances, one for first and second class passengers and the second for those travelling third class.<sup>144</sup> Third class tickets for local travel could be issued to Whites should they so desire. A further insight into the prejudices of the Durban community was clearly shown by their train seating arrangements. Coloured servants accompanying White passengers could take seats with their employers on payment of the fare for the class of carriage in which they

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<sup>140</sup> Ibid., 14 May 1880.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid., 30 April 1880.

<sup>143</sup> Richards and MacKenzie, The Railway Station: A Social History, p.137.

<sup>144</sup> Campbell, The Birth of the South African Railways, p.109.

travelled, provided other passengers in the same compartment did not object. All Coloured persons, or 'Natives', had before commencing a journey, and whilst on a journey, to see that all legal formalities, whether in regard to Pass Laws or otherwise, were duly complied with. The administration would not make any refund of fares to passengers who were prevented from completing their journey by the police for breach of the Pass or other law.<sup>145</sup> Not only was the full social and racial hierarchy of the railway traveller illuminated by such discriminatory treatment, but also the great range of employment offered by the railways themselves. As a result, a form of class and, most notably, racial job reservation grew up in railway employment.

'In colonial territories, railways were often the largest employers of labour. A vast number of local people performed the menial tasks; people of mixed race found jobs most appropriate to their status as buffers between the White managerial class and the mass of indigenous employees.'<sup>146</sup>

The growth of the South African railways closely followed the general development of the country. The discovery of diamonds at Kimberley and gold on the Witwatersrand, as well as coal deposits in northern Natal, acted as a powerful incentive to railway construction to these parts to reap the benefit of rapid, efficient and cheap transport. The burden of providing for the needs of agriculture and industry inland and along the coastline was placed on the shoulders of the railways. From the outset, railway policy was thus shaped in recognition of the fact that an effective transportation system was a prerequisite to the economic welfare of the country. The fledgling city of Durban succeeded, with British technological expertise and an

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<sup>145</sup> NGG: Supplement, vol.LXII, no.3837, 30 May 1910, pp.1-20: Official Tariff Book for Passenger, Luggage, and Parcels Traffic.

<sup>146</sup> Richards and MacKenzie, The Railway Station: A Social History, p.154.

enterprising British settler elite within the Durban middle class community, in starting a three kilometre stretch of railways in Durban. This would grow into a profitable state enterprise, once the hinterland trade was unlocked, and Durban badly needed such activities to change the economic fortune of the town. By tapping resources inland and along the coastline, commerce was encouraged and regulated. The outcome was the general increase of trading figures for export from and import to Durban harbour (discussed in Chapter 6). Such growth emphasized the fact that given facilities for transportation and a market overseas, it was possible to exploit the abundant natural resources of Natal and further afield using animate and inanimate energy sources and thereby to hasten Durban's development, so successfully promoted by the influential elite class of Durban society.

The Durban environment was affected by British applied technology. The railways not only acted as a unifying inter-city link, but also as a suburban-link, which held Durban together as a town. This stepping stone of progress was introduced by the conscious desire of the controlling British settler elite in the local society. Political associations with the Durban Town Council and Harbour Board and the N.R.C., a commercial undertaking, were from the outset underpinned by social networks among the settler elite, which served to promote their economic welfare and that of the city. The suggestion could be made that their efforts to include outlying areas, even after the railways became state-owned, were motivated by the realization that acquisition and improvement of their large estates, which a railroad would facilitate, were necessary to support an increasingly opulent lifestyle.



## Chapter 8

Tramway, Electricity and Telephone Services

Industrialization, embracing a whole series of social, economic, technological and agricultural processes produced changes in the social structure and physical-spatial forms of the metropolitan city, which provided an important reference model for colonial urban settlement.<sup>1</sup> These processes as they occurred in Durban partly explain the characteristic lay-out (dealt with in Chapter 4), the sanitary measures (to be dealt with in Chapter 9), and the urban system as a whole, and also contributed to a particular social structure (discussed in previous chapters).

The colonial Durban environment was affected by the technology introduced by the controlling British settler elite. Examples of such technology were tramways, electricity and telephones (railways and harbour improvements were dealt with in Chapters 6 and 7), which helped give shape to the physical, spatial and social forms of the industrial city.

'Technology is an adequate abbreviation to indicate that the colonial settlement is not only a product of cultural interaction but also of cultures with very different forms of technological, social, economic and political organisation and development.'<sup>2</sup>

In addition to the fundamental improvements in transportation and improved communication, a number of other technological developments were significant in shaping the morphology of the city of Durban. A new method of city lighting, using the incandescent electric lamp,

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<sup>1</sup> King, Colonial Urban Development, p.35; King, 'Colonial Cities', in Ross and Telkamp (eds), p.23.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p.38.

was demonstrated by the American Thomas Edison in 1879, and led to the development of a central power station that could supply enough current to light up a whole city.<sup>3</sup> Complex new generators, meters and conductors had to be devised for the experiment; its success demonstrated that electric lighting could be utilized for commercial purposes. Although an improved gas lamp developed in Britain in 1885 and patented in the United States in 1890 gave the gas-light industry renewed temporary vigor, the electric light proved in the long run the most satisfactory and practical device for illuminating a large city.<sup>4</sup> The working day in business offices could now be lengthened, factories could be operated around the clock, and the night-time recreational activities of the city could be greatly expanded. Electricity as a lighting medium for the city of Durban was introduced by the turn of the nineteenth century by the influential leaders among the British settlers. The earlier use of paraffin lamps was slowly phased out.

Improved communication was vital if Durban was to continue to function as a city. The telegraph and underground sea cable had earlier provided the kind of information system that enabled Durban to become tied into national and international networks. They were, however, unable to relay lengthy complex information back and forth within the city. Urban mail delivery had been established, but was again not efficient enough as a system to unify the ever-expanding city of Durban. The answer to rapid urban communication was supplied by the introduction of the telephone.

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<sup>3</sup> Glaab and Brown, A History of Urban America, pp.163-64.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

Urban transportation, except railways using steam-power as a source of energy, was still horse-drawn in England till the late nineteenth century, when it became electricity-driven.<sup>5</sup> Durban also at first relied on animate sources. Stage-coaches in the 1830s, omnibuses, hackney cabs, carts and carriages of every kind were used in the growing metropolitan society.<sup>6</sup> These improved transport methods were presumably stimulated by the advent of the railways which promoted the idea of accelerated communication.

The general picture of urban transportation in Durban (besides the railways discussed in Chapter 7), was very similar to that in Britain. John Dare, a British settler in Pietermaritzburg, introduced rapid passenger travel between Durban and Pietermaritzburg in 1860 and called his coach the 'Perseverance'. His starting places were the 'Crown' (Hotel) in Pietermaritzburg and the 'Masonic' (Hotel) in Durban, and the coaches called at places such as Camperdown and Pinetown on the way. The fare, up or down, was f1, with children under twelve, half price. Passengers were allowed 10lbs. luggage, charged for at a rate of an extra 1½d. per lb. Parcels carried and delivered cost 1s. for 6 lbs., and above 6lbs. 1½d. extra per lb. Another British settler, John W. Welch of Pinetown, a burgess of Durban, who took over from Dare, established a daily horse-drawn omnibus service both ways.<sup>7</sup> His omnibus office

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<sup>5</sup> R.J. Unstead, Age of Machines: A Pictorial History 1815-1901 (London: MacDonald Educational, 1974), pp.8-16.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Hattersley, British Settlement of Natal, p.272; Russell, Old Durban, pp.446-7. Welch was succeeded by his sons on retirement, one of whom continued as Postcart Contractor for Natal outside the limits of the Natal Government Railways.

was located centrally in West Street.<sup>8</sup> In 1874 Joseph Murray (son of A.K. Murray, the founder of Pinetown) received the contract for carrying mails between Durban and Pietermaritzburg. Passengers were also conveyed in the horse-drawn post-cart, the time taken being six to seven hours.<sup>9</sup> There were three four-wheeled conveyances and four two-wheelers in the service and the contractors had altogether a hundred horses, the daily requirements being a minimum of sixty-four horses, eight different teams of four for each cart. The contractors' employees included three experienced drivers, about thirty Africans for the stables and a farrier and harness maker. Murray received £10 per trip from Pietermaritzburg to Durban.<sup>10</sup>

The need for some system of public conveyance in central Durban (other than the railways) between the centre of town and the harbour, was first met in the early 1870s by the institution of a horse-drawn omnibus service between Grey Street and the Point.<sup>11</sup> This service was later extended to the Berea. A typical notice appeared in the Natal Mercury of 18 June 1880<sup>12</sup> placed by the proprietor of Dales' buses (originally owned by W. Dalgety and taken over by John Dales). Notice was given of a timetable of those buses leaving from Durban to Berea Road and back (the Toll Bar bus), flying a blue flag, and from Durban to Musgrave Road and back, flying a red flag. Dales' Berea Road bus left Durban at 1 p.m. and accommodated the Young

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<sup>8</sup> Natal Almanac Directory and Yearly Register, 1880: Commercial Directory, p.374.

<sup>9</sup> O' Keefe, Pioneers' Progress, p.13.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Henderson, Fifty Years, p.272.

<sup>12</sup> Natal Mercury, 18 June 1880: Notice.

Ladies of the Collegiate Institute. Buses also ran between Durban and the Point at intervals of a quarter of an hour every weekday.<sup>13</sup>

Horse-drawn trams, introduced in England in 1861, and in Durban in 1880 by Councillor Henry Ramsey Collins (to be discussed), were followed by steam trams. Electric power was in use from 1884 in England and in Durban from 1902. By 1900, there were three electric companies in operation in England,<sup>14</sup> and one of the three had expanded its services to this part of the globe.

Bicycles provided a cheap and rapid means of transport and the first motorcycle appeared in England in the 1890s.<sup>15</sup> The Natal Almanac, Directory and Yearly Register of 1900 recorded the 'Natal Cycle Company' in West Street, as well as the 'Durban Ricksha Company' (light hansoms drawn by Africans) in Pine Street.<sup>16</sup> (The Durban Local History Museum has on display a 'penny farthing' bicycle, apparently owned at the time by Mayor Edward Pickering.)

By this time, keen interest had been aroused in the motor-car with its internal combustion engine. Traffic laws hampered its development in Britain until 1896 when, to celebrate the new freedom, a fleet of 'horseless carriages' set off from London to

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Unstead, Age of Machines, pp.8-16.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> Natal Almanac Directory and Yearly Register, 1900: Trade Directory, pp.347-66; Tatlow, Descriptive Guide, p.60. See Henderson, Fifty Years, pp.341-2, on the introduction of jinrickhas to Durban in 1893.

Brighton.<sup>17</sup> Introduction to Durban rapidly followed.<sup>18</sup> For long-distance overland passenger and goods transport in South Africa, use was made of the oxwagon - a wagon, generally pulled by sixteen oxen, which plied continuously from the late 1830s onwards between Durban and the interior of South Africa. The distance between Durban and Pietermaritzburg (by road some eighty-six kilometres) seldom took less than three days to cover, with the oxwagon limited to two tons.<sup>19</sup>

Horse-drawn trams for public transport became part of the Durban town traffic scene only when Councillor Henry Ramsey Collins (later called 'Tramsey Collins'),<sup>20</sup> Engineer and Promoter of the Durban Tramways Company, applied to the Durban Town Council early in 1879 for permission to lay a tramline along the main streets of Durban. At this time the Town Council was empowered under Law 19 of 1872 to construct tramways but did not possess any specific authority to

<sup>17</sup> Unstead, Age of Machines, pp.8-16.

<sup>18</sup> Wilks, For the Love of Natal, p.105, wrote that on 21 November 1897, Durban citizens saw their first motor car, when an 'Arnold Sociable' was unloaded from a ship at the Point for its owner F.H. Hadfield, an electrician who had a substantial business in Field Street. The car, built by the Arnold Motor Carriage Company of East Peckham, naturally attracted considerable interest when its wrappings were taken off and the first road test undertaken.

<sup>19</sup> Heydenrych and Martin, The Natal Main Line Story, p.5.

<sup>20</sup> The enthusiasm of Henry Ramsey Collins (who emigrated to Natal in 1872) for the project of Tramways, in spite of local prejudice, earned him the nickname 'Tramsey Collins'. See Wilks, For the Love of Natal, pp.22-3.

enter into an agreement with a company to run them.<sup>21</sup> The request made by the Company was granted by Law no. 19 of 1880 which marked the birth of the tramway era in Durban. An agreement to form the first Tramways Company was signed between Mayor William Arbuckle and Robert Acutt, Chairman of the Tramways Company.<sup>22</sup> A notice appeared in the Natal Mercury of 14 May 1880, whereby the Secretary, H.R. Collins of the Durban Tramways Co. Ltd., requested tenders to be received at the offices of the Company, Central West Street, on or before 18 May 1880, from persons willing to 'Convey the Tramway Plant from the Wharf at the Point, and Stack it on adjacent ground.'<sup>23</sup> The tender was to include tar and cement and the total weight of the material was to be about 300 tons. Further notices appeared in the press in June whereby the Company called for tenders for the construction of the tramway.

'The Directors of this Company are prepared to receive Tenders for the "Excavating and for the Laying Down of their Tramway" in accordance with the Drawings and Specifications, which may be seen at the Company's Offices, West Street (Corner of Mark Lane), where all the necessary information may be obtained.'<sup>24</sup>

Tenders were to be sent in not later than 3 August 1880. The Natal Mercury reported on 8 July 1880 that the Directors of the Durban

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<sup>21</sup> D. Heron, 'Urban Passenger Transportation with special reference to the Development of Durban' (A descriptive survey of public passenger transportation by tramway, omnibus and trolleybuses mainly in Durban), (unpublished ? thesis, Natal University College, Durban, 1947), pp.23-4. Heron was assisted by Professor H.R. Burrows and W. Thornhill, Civic Research Fellow of the Natal University College, Durban, as well as by E. Green, Durban City Treasurer, and also gave his assistance to the Durban Passenger Transport Inquiry Commission in a report officially released on 20 June 1947.

<sup>22</sup> CSO 713, Minute 3621/1879; CSO 773, no.3864/1880.

<sup>23</sup> Natal Mercury, 14 May 1880.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 19 June and 26 June 1880.



Tramways Company had appointed E.A. Platt as their Accountant and Secretary. The first tramline was the Point/Durban tramline. Construction of this tramline from the Point to central Durban was commenced in August. The Starbruck Car Company in England received the order to supply.<sup>25</sup> Late in 1880 correspondence continued between H.R. Collins, the Engineer, and C. Jenkyns, Clerk of Works of the Natal Government Department relating to the position of the tramway terminus at the Point. It also dealt with the proposed extension of the tramway beyond the southern boundary of the Alexandra Hotel lot.<sup>26</sup> Credit for initiating the tramway age in 1880 in Durban, as another necessary form of public transportation, has thus to be given to an enterprising leader in the community, Councillor H.R. Collins. Collins not only served on the Durban Town Council for eleven years<sup>27</sup> (later being appointed Deputy-Mayor) but, in his private capacity, took the initiative to form this private company.

No time was wasted by the contractors in the laying of the Point line, from the West End railway crossing in Russell Street (referred to in Chapter 7), along the centre of West Street to the Point in 1881.<sup>28</sup> This line was only put in use after the Chairman of the Durban Tramways Company declared it open for inspection by the Natal Government and Durban Town Council.<sup>29</sup> The first tramway for public

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<sup>25</sup> Ibid., 8 July 1880.

<sup>26</sup> CSO 798, Minute 1027/1881.

<sup>27</sup> Wilks, For the Love of Natal, p.23.

<sup>28</sup> Henderson, Fifty Years, p.273, wrote to the old Criterion Bar at the Point.

<sup>29</sup> CSO 793, Minute 571/1881.

transport, with four double deck cars operating a twenty minute service at a fare of five pence each way, thus covered the distance of nearly three kilometres between city centre and harbour (Point).<sup>30</sup> This was similar to the route taken by the first railway just a little more than twenty years before, and the horse-drawn omnibus service with Dales' buses in the 1870s. The growing demand for transport services for passengers and goods between the market and Point thus accentuated the role of the harbour of Durban as a dynamic factor in stimulating economic and consequently urban growth; more job opportunities were created, which drew more people to this maritime city.

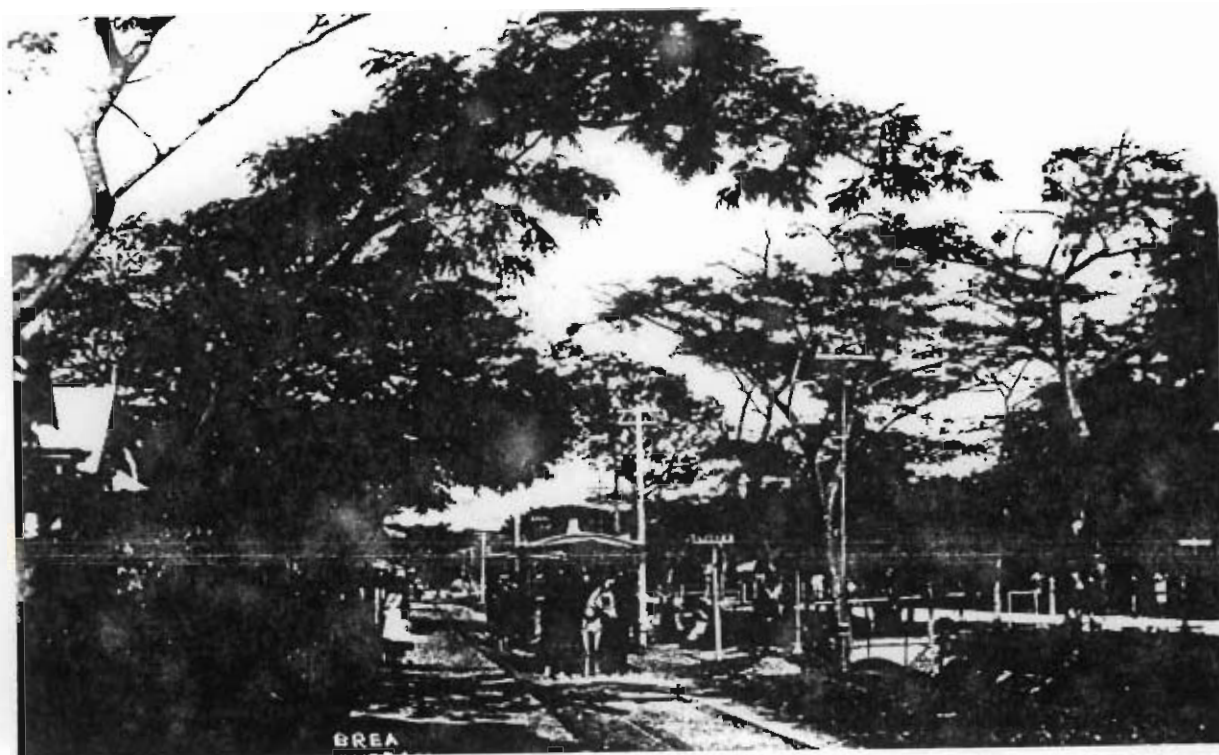
The growth and development of the tramways in Durban was also to follow a suburban pattern, which could be compared with those of American cities such as Boston, where such a system of urban transportation extended the city and grouped the residents in close proximity to the lines.<sup>31</sup> Tramways permitted Durban to spread out and still maintain its functional identity as a harbour city rather than to fragment into a number of distinct urban units. Durbanites were given a chance to separate workplace from home. The first extension of the local tramway service from central Durban to the suburbs was provided for by the Suburban Tramways Law, no.18 of 1885,<sup>32</sup> whereby a second private company, called the 'Suburban Tramways Company' was formed with A.K. Murray as the Managing Director. The governing settler elite, headed by Mayor J.W.

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<sup>30</sup> Heron 'Urban Passenger Transportation', pp.23-4.

<sup>31</sup> Sam B. Warner Jr., Streetcar Suburbs: The Process of Growth in Boston, 1870-1900 (U.S.A.: Harvard University Press, 1962), pp.viii-iv, 49.

<sup>32</sup> Durban Mayor's Minutes, 31 July 1885, pp.7, 150-9.



Berea Road, circa 1880's looking towards town and showing the old horse trams at the 4th Stage from the Town Hall.

Photo (Copyright: Local History Museum).

Stranack, consented to tramways being constructed along certain suburban roads of Durban.<sup>33</sup> The Berea tramline was the first to serve the suburbs and connected at the West End terminus (at the junction of West Street and Berea Road where the tramline from the Point terminated). A tramline was laid up the hill to the corner of Botanic Gardens Road (known as the Old Dutch Road stage). From here access was obtained to the gardens, observatory and laboratory. The tramline then continued to the junction of Musgrave and Berea Roads and thence along Musgrave Road as far as the junction with Sydenham Road.<sup>34</sup> The Company commenced operations with rolling stock consisting of four single deck horse cars with a seating capacity of twenty-five passengers. Their route extended from Field Street along Berea and Musgrave Roads to Sydenham Road. The route from Field Street to Russell Street necessitated running over a portion of the Durban Tramways Company's line for which privilege the latter Company levied a toll of four pence per trip.<sup>35</sup>

The narrowing of the main entrance to the Berea suburb to the width of the double railway gates, and the proximity of the tramway terminus with waiting cars in the centre, had in the meantime led to a dangerous congestion of traffic. The obstacle was overcome in 1888 by an arrangement between the Railway Department and the Durban Town Council to provide an additional pair of gates and to employ the services of platelayers.<sup>36</sup> The consequent deviation of the suburban

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<sup>33</sup> NGG, vol.XLI, no.2370, 2 July 1889, p.717: Notice, Suburban Tramways Company Limited. See CSO 1081, Minute 2180/1886.

<sup>34</sup> Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1885, pp.7, 150-9. See Henderson, Fifty Years, p.273; Heron 'Urban Passenger Transportation', p.24.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1888. p.15

tramway at the West End, with the placing of new railway crossing gates, and the construction of the turn-out to the Durban tram stables, as well as the loop near the cemetery, was completed early in June 1888 at a cost of £123 17s 6d.<sup>37</sup>

Further suburban tramways were sanctioned by the Natal Government in 1889 by the Suburban Tramways Extension and Amendment Law.<sup>38</sup> The Suburban Tramways Company was empowered to lay down and work tramways along Manning, Stella and Florida Roads, across the Durban Flat and the Umgeni Road, along Railway, Gardiner, Smith and Park Streets, and other roads and streets in the Borough of Durban. This was in addition to streets and roads mentioned in the 'Suburban Tramways Law, 1885'. Such tramways were to be worked with cars or carriages, drawn by horses, or driven by steam or other motive power, for the conveyance of passengers and parcels.<sup>39</sup> The amalgamation of the Durban Tramways Company and the Suburban Tramways Company (Ltd.) took place in 1890 to provide a more efficient service.<sup>40</sup> The newly named undertaking was now styled 'The Durban Boroughs Tramways Company, Limited'.<sup>41</sup> Further suburban extension followed.

The estimated cost of construction of the Florida tramline was £8 000

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid., p.22.

<sup>38</sup> NGG, vol.XLI, no.2352, 16 April 1889, p.323: Notice of Application for a Bill in the Legislative Council, 1889. See *ibid.*, no.2351, 14 May 1889, no.2351, p.433: Bill, no.20, 1889 (As set down for Second Reading).

<sup>39</sup> NGG, vol.XLI, no.2351, 14 May 1889, p.433: Bill, no.20, 1889 (As set down for Second Reading).

<sup>40</sup> Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1890, p.5; CSD 1243, Minute 7237/1889.

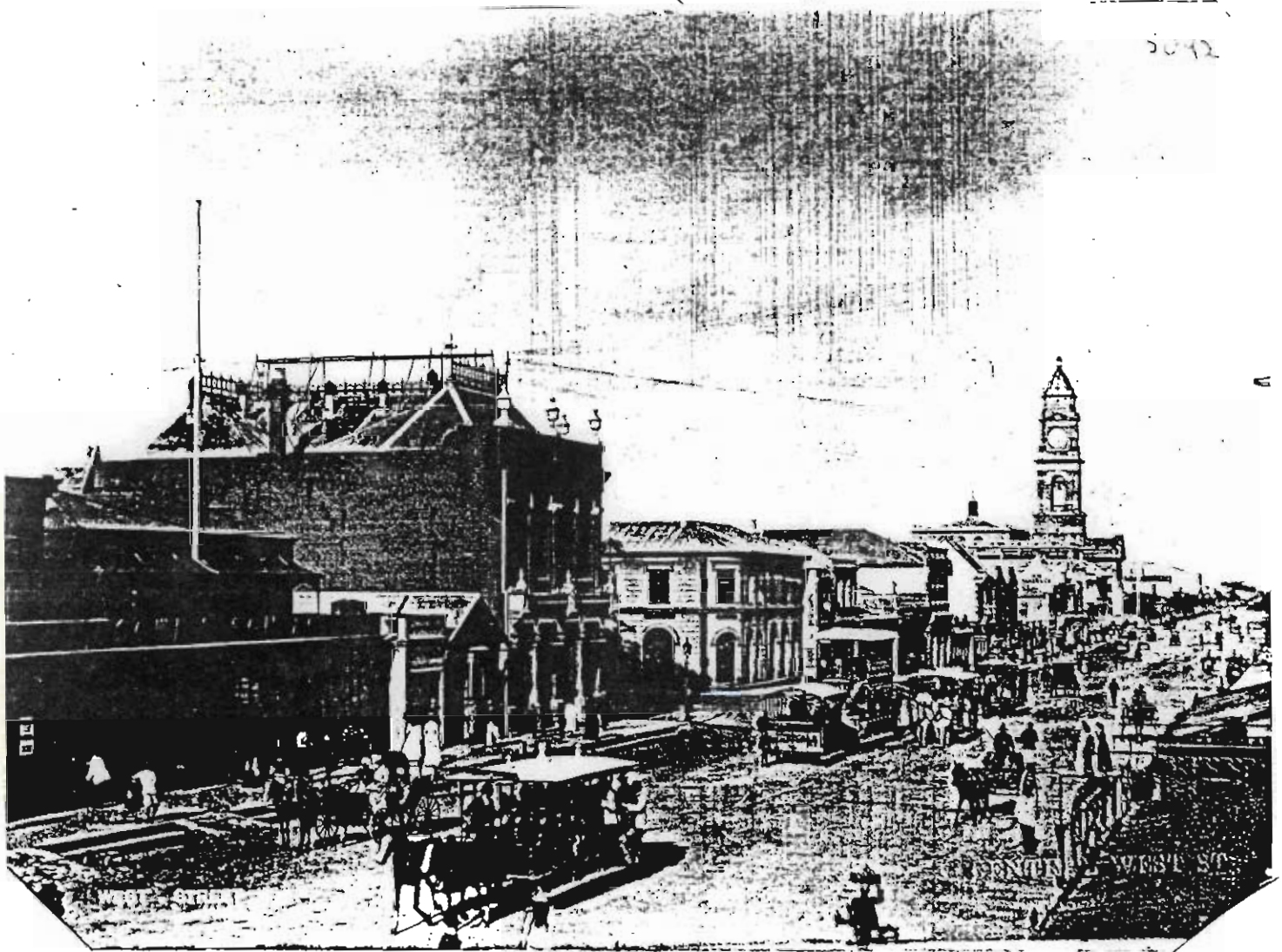
<sup>41</sup> Henderson, Fifty Years, p.274; Heron 'Urban Passenger Transportation', p.24.

DURBAN

West St. Central

(c.1889)

5042



Copyright: Natal Archives

Single and double decker horse drawn trams.

and it was considered that the governing elite should be re-imbursed by the sale of townlands.<sup>42</sup> Suburban properties on the new Florida Road were then opened up by means of a tramline after an enabling law, no. 23 of 1891, passed by the Natal Government, gave permission to the Town Council to construct and work such a line to serve Florida Road suburb.<sup>43</sup> This line commenced at the junction of West and Field Streets, and proceeded along Field Street, Umgeni Road, First Avenue and Florida Road as far as Mitchell Park, forming a 'horseshoe curve',<sup>44</sup> where a reversing station was constructed. From there the line proceeded along Musgrave Road Extension to Marriott Road.<sup>45</sup> Work commenced early in 1892. The line was inspected by Mayor J.W. Leuchars and the Colonial Engineer in 1892 and then partially opened.<sup>46</sup> On completion in 1893, three tram shelters were placed in suitable positions along the line.<sup>47</sup> The tramlines at Marriott Road represented 'the meeting-place of the cars as they circled the Berea and town', and they then returned to the Post Office.<sup>48</sup> Mayor George Payne reported in his annual Minute of 1894:

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<sup>42</sup> Ibid., pp.23-4.

<sup>43</sup> Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1891, pp. 75-80; Henderson, Fifty Years, p.275.

<sup>44</sup> Tatlow, Descriptive Guide, pp.92-3.

<sup>45</sup> Henderson, Fifty Years, p.275.

<sup>46</sup> CSO 1342, Minute 4166/1892. Henderson, Fifty Years, p.275, wrote that this line was opened for Tram traffic on 12 September 1891.

<sup>47</sup> Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1893, pp.4-5.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., 31 July 1896, pp.3-6. See Tatlow, Descriptive Guide, pp.89, 93.



'The Florida Road line, under the Manager (Mr Low), is working satisfactorily. The revenue for the year has totalled £2 852, which is £212 above the estimate. Unfortunately, the losses in horses last summer were heavy, nine having succumbed to the prevailing epidemic.'<sup>49</sup>

The Umbilo line was opened under the same law which provided for a line to be laid out along the Umbilo Road as far as its junction with McDonald Road. In 1894 Mayor George Payne forwarded for the sanction of the Governor an agreement<sup>50</sup> between the Town Council and the Durban Borough Tramways Company that the Town Council should build this line.<sup>51</sup> The Umbilo Road tramway line covering a distance of  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a mile, was completed up to McDonald Road in 1895, and leased to the Company on a seven years' lease at a rental of 5% of the capital cost of £1 806.<sup>52</sup> During the same period the Durban Borough Tramways Company also completed and opened for tram traffic in November 1894 its Berea Road extension (a section of line from Berea and Musgrave Road junction) to Toll Gate.<sup>53</sup> No other development was undertaken by the Company.

The same reasons that prompted the ruling elite to build the Stamford Hill line (extension from Florida Road at the bottom of the hill), were advanced for building the Florida Road line, i.e. the desire of the Council to open up the Durban Town Estate (entrusted to them in

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<sup>49</sup> Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1894, p.7.

<sup>50</sup> This extension of the Umbilo line was laid by the Corporation and was offered to the Borough Tramways Company on a seven years' lease at a rental of 5 per cent of the cost. See *ibid.*

<sup>51</sup> CSO 1410, Minute 5216/1894.

<sup>52</sup> See Appendix Q. See MJFW 52, LW 364/1895; Heron 'Urban Passenger Transportation', pp.24-6.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, p.24.

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<sup>51</sup> CSO 1410, Minute 5216/1894.

<sup>52</sup> See Appendix Q. See MJFW 52, LW 384/1895; Heron 'Urban Passenger Transportation', pp.24-6.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, p.24.

1854 by the Natal Government) for residential purposes.<sup>54</sup> The Stamford Hill line was commenced with by the municipality in 1897. The first stage from the Racecourse to Harvey Road was completed in 1898.<sup>55</sup> An inspection of the first section of the Stamford Hill extension was carried out in 1898 by Mayor John Nicol and the Chief Engineer of the Public Works Department, J. Fletcher,<sup>56</sup> as well as a later inspection of the third and last section completed late in 1898<sup>57</sup> at a cost of £5 159. This section was opened for tram traffic in October 1898 and worked in conjunction with the Florida Road tramway. After the completion of this line the total tramway truck mileage within the Borough amounted to 10 $\frac{1}{2}$  miles, 5 miles of which were owned by the Durban Borough Tramways Co., Ltd., and 5 $\frac{1}{2}$  miles by the municipality.<sup>58</sup> The tramways thus provided access to new areas of the city and reduced the time people took to get to work. They also made it possible to get more easily to the parks and race meetings.

'There was always a direct relationship between urbanization and transport - not so much satisfying existing needs as creating new residential districts.'<sup>59</sup>

A provisional agreement was entered into by the influential class for

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<sup>54</sup> Ibid., p.25.

<sup>55</sup> Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1898, pp.18-32. See Tatlow, Descriptive Guide, p.95.

<sup>56</sup> MJPW 59, LW 1647/1898; PWD 2/98, no.1572/1898.

<sup>57</sup> MJPW 59, LW 5937/1898; PWD 2/53, no.3855/1898 and PWD 2/98, no. 5315/1898.

<sup>58</sup> Heron, 'Urban Passenger Transportation', p.26.

<sup>59</sup> Briggs, Victorian Cities, p.15.

the municipalisation of the tramways in order to gain greater control. As early as 1893 Mayor J.W. Leuchars reported that in compliance with what was understood to be the wish of the Burgesses, representations to the Durban Borough Tramways Company were made to purchase the Company's assets. A Committee, comprising the Mayor and Councillors Snell and Ferguson, was appointed, and after several conferences with the Directors of the Company, a provisional agreement was arranged. Hereby the Town Council was to purchase the whole of the Company's assets for the sum of £77 000. In terms of the tramway laws, the requisite notice of thirty days was given for the consideration and adoption of the agreement. An impression amongst the Burgesses that the purchase price was excessive culminated in a public meeting of ratepayers, held on 11 April 1893, at which it was decided as follows:

'In the opinion of this Meeting, it is not desirable to confirm the Provisional Agreement for the purchase of the Durban Borough Tramways, or to enter into any further negotiations at the present time for the purchase thereof.'<sup>40</sup>

In compliance with this resolution, at the Council Meeting held on 13 April 1893, the provisional agreement was not ratified. Mayor J.W. Leuchars simply reported that:

'Though there may be doubts as to the wisdom of the decision enjoined by the Burgesses, there can be none as to the satisfaction with which their representatives view an awakening interest in the work of the Council - a satisfaction which would be enhanced were there evidence of any disposition on the part of prominent critics to come forward and take their part in the municipal work of the Borough.'<sup>41</sup>

In the final agreement early in 1899 Messrs Shepstone, Wylie and Binns asked for the necessary statutory consent to enable the Durban

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<sup>40</sup> Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1893, p.83.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., p.86.

Borough Tramways Co. Ltd. to sell their undertaking to the Durban Municipality.<sup>62</sup> This was granted and further negotiations between the Tramway Company and the Municipality resulted in the latter obtaining the entire control of the Tramways in 1899, as authorised by Act no.12 of 1899.<sup>63</sup> A Special Committee, consisting of Councillors J. Nicol, J. Ellis Brown, G.A. de R. Labistour and M.S. Evans, was appointed by the Council to ascertain the legal position of the Council with regard to acquiring such an undertaking then or at any time prior to 31 December 1912, and the basis of valuation should arbitration be resorted to in the absence of a price being mutually agreed upon. A conference took place between the Directors of the Company and the Special Committee, at which the Chairman of the Company, Councillor H.R. Collins, stated that his Board was prepared to recommend to their shareholders the sale of their undertaking for the sum of £114 000 (in round figures), as on 31 December 1898. The Special Committee had no hesitation in recommending the Council's acceptance of this offer which the Council unanimously confirmed.

'There can be no question as to the wisdom of the Council in taking this step. When the tramways are in the hands of the Corporation electric traction will be at once proceeded with, necessary extensions into districts which could not be served with horse power can then be made, while it is tolerably certain that within five years of the Corporation acquiring the tramways the fares will have been gradually reduced to 50 per cent of the present rates.'<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> CSD 1618, Minute 4904/1899.

<sup>63</sup> Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1898, pp.18-32; *ibid.*, 1900, pp.9-10. See Heron 'Urban Passenger Transportation', p.27. A further Act no.11, 1899, was passed to increase the Durban Town Council's borrowing powers by £250 000 to meet the purchase of the Company's undertaking (£14 000). The loan authorised under this Act was satisfactorily floated in London in 1901 at 4% repayable in 1951.

<sup>64</sup> Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1898, p.32.

The Corporation took over the working of the undertaking on 1 August 1899, as well as the majority of the employees of the old Company, under the management of E. Sturgeon (secretary to the old Company). <sup>45</sup> With the municipalisation of the tramways the Durban Town Council gained even more control. A Tramways Department was formed in 1900 and an experienced Tramway Manager was advertised for in England to handle affairs. J.T. Davidson was appointed in 1903 to succeed E. Sturgeon, who had in the meantime been appointed Manager.<sup>46</sup> In 1891 the Chairman of the Durban Borough Tramways Company, Limited forwarded By-laws to the Natal Government which were framed by the Company.<sup>47</sup> However, Laws with certain amendments under which the Durban Municipal Passenger Transport undertaking operated were only finally sanctioned by the Municipal Tramways Consolidation Act no. 37 of 1905. The fare was simultaneously increased from three pence to six pence.<sup>48</sup>

After municipalisation, duplication of rails to the suburbs was undertaken. This was seen as a necessity for electrification of the tramways, as existing rails originally laid for horse traction were of a light weight and unsuitable for heavy electric cars. As part of the process of the duplication of rails, a new track of eighteen miles was put in use in 1902. The track stretched from Alice Street to Greyville and included a portion of Florida Road, Alice Street and Old Dutch Road, as well as the Umbilo Road extension of a single line

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<sup>45</sup> Ibid., 31 July 1900, pp.9-10.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., 31 July 1890, pp.43-6; *ibid.*, 31 July 1903, pp.83-6.

<sup>47</sup> CSO 1286, Minute 531/1891.

<sup>48</sup> CSO 8602-9025, Minute 1800/1905. See Heron 'Urban Passenger Transportation', p.28.

from McDonald Road to the Congella Police Station.<sup>69</sup> It was recorded in 1903 that the total mileage laid was 17.72 miles and that this mileage completed the Berea circle and Toll Gate sections. The new track to Mitchell Park was opened on 5 January 1903. The opening to Chelmsford Road (Umbilo Toll Gate) was on 1 June and to the Berea circle route on 1 July 1903.<sup>70</sup> Other tramway extension work included the Umbilo line as far as the newly-opened Stellawood cemetery.<sup>71</sup> New track was laid during 1906 in Old Dutch Road between Wills Lane (Road) and Warwick Avenue, and in Umgeni Road between Umgeni Railway Station and Goble Road, bringing the total length to date to 25.83 miles.<sup>72</sup> The Umgeni line was opened to traffic only in 1907. During 1907 a new car shed was completed at the Alice Power Station.<sup>73</sup> The opening of the Cowey Road line, which afforded more convenient means of access to the Botanic Gardens, and the Branch line to the Race Course, which came into effect on 4 July 1908 (when the City line was extended to Clarence Road by Sixth Avenue), greatly facilitated tram traffic to these places. The new section of tramline, running from Umbilo along Davenport Road as far as Bulwer Park was opened in 1909.<sup>74</sup> The

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<sup>69</sup> Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1902, pp.15-17. See Appendix K for Durban's Electric Tramways in 1904.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, 31 July 1903, pp. 83-6: Inclusive Report by the Borough Engineer, J. Fletcher to the Durban Town Council.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, 31 July 1904, pp.119-22, *ibid.*, 1906, pp.156-60. See Henderson, Fifty Years, p.281.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, 31 July 1907, pp.9, 204-7. See FWD 2/163, no.1203/1906.

<sup>73</sup> Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1907, p.206.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, 31 July 1908, pp.45-50; *ibid.*, 31 July 1909, p.105. See Appendix S.



extension of this Umbilo tramway, as far as Prospect Road, was opened for traffic on 5 November 1910. Tatlow in Natal Descriptive Guide and Official Handbook, gave a vivid portrayal of a tram journey by 1910. He mentioned the journey as also leading to the Bay Embankment area from the junction of West and Gardiner Street then along to Albert Park (Congella) and ending at the Berea End of West Street (cemetery).<sup>75</sup>

Tramway extension across the Umgeni Bridge to Prospect Hall in the County of Victoria was contemplated in 1904 but not achieved in the colonial period.<sup>76</sup> The Durban Town Council began to show great interest in upgrading the Beachfront area from 1906 onwards. This lengthy process was on-going in the post-colonial period. The Borough Engineer, J. Fletcher, submitted a Beach and Sea Frontage Improvement Scheme in 1906 to make Durban's beachfront more attractive and, at the same time, open up lands facing the sea for building purposes.<sup>77</sup> The three suggestions he came up with were, firstly, the consideration of a tramline and roadway along the Beach; secondly, a reclamation scheme, and, thirdly, the building of a pier. The tramline and roadway could be made to form a circuit by a connection with the Umgeni Road line at the bottom of Goble Road. The total cost would have amounted to £340 596 and some 200 acres of land would have had to be made available. He further recommended that advice be sought from an engineer having special experience of

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<sup>75</sup> Tatlow, Descriptive Guide, pp.87-9.

<sup>76</sup> See Appendix R.

<sup>77</sup> Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1906, pp.51-6.

marine works.<sup>78</sup> Some of the suggestions made by Fletcher saw completion in the colonial period under the leadership of J. Ellis Brown and Felix Hollander. The first works carried out in 1907 by J. Fletcher and Consultant Engineer to the Durban Town Council, Cathcart Methven, were the erection of a semi-circular pier at the end of West Street, and reclamation of a portion of the lower esplanade. This was followed in the post-colonial period by reclamation of a higher level esplanade for building purposes and additional acreage between the higher and lower esplanades for leisure purposes, stretching from present Dairy Beach to South Beach,<sup>79</sup> as well as tramway extension completed in 1914 along the Beach and Marine Parade.<sup>80</sup>

The Electric Tramway Act, no.20 of 1902, formally sanctioned the electrification of the tramways using the overhead system.<sup>81</sup> This step, previously promised by the governing elite, followed the municipalisation of the tramways. The service could no longer be efficiently carried out by reliance on horsepower. The problems of feeding, stabling, the disease factor and poor health in general among the tramway horses, (worsened no doubt by the increased traffic), hastened the electrification of the tramways. Influenza attacked the tramway stables in December 1889, and the Department was not free from the disease until June 1890. Notwithstanding a light horse-sickness season, the losses for 1890 amounted to 49.<sup>82</sup> With

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<sup>78</sup> Ibid.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid., 31 July, p.7; Lynsky, They Built a City, pp.35-6; Davies, Growth of Durban, p.24.

<sup>80</sup> Heron, 'Urban Passenger Transportation', p.29. This tramline extension was built at a cost of £2 500.

<sup>81</sup> CSO 1705, Minute 4421/1902.

<sup>82</sup> Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1890, pp.43-6.

new horses purchased, 337 horses were recorded in the tramway stables in July 1900. The Stamford Hill stable had been doubled and a new stable fitted for 36 horses was erected at Brook Street to replace the West End stables which would then only be used as a depot.<sup>83</sup> Increased traffic as mentioned previously, hastened electrification. The Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902, no doubt, had a considerable effect on the tramways and Mayor John Nicol's Minute of 1900 carried a report by the Tramways Manager, E. Sturgeon, as follows:

'Since the commencement of the War, in October last, traffic has been very heavy, and at times quite beyond the capacity of our plant.'<sup>84</sup>

The following table of daily average takings showed an increase by 1900, as compared with the daily takings during the latter half of 1899, under normal conditions of about £80.

1899.					1900.							
Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	
£76	£85	£153	£144	£121	£112	£103	£127	£118	£119	£108	£120	

The Point line carried the heaviest traffic in October and November 1899, and a triple service between the Town Hall and Point was almost continuously run during the day, the earnings of this section amounting to over £4 900 for those two months.<sup>85</sup> A new time-table was drawn up for the Florida Road and Stamford Hill section on 1 October 1899, extending the Stamford Hill service considerably. Tram traffic on these lines had increased a great deal, and the earnings,

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<sup>83</sup> Ibid., 31 July 1900, pp.9-10.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid., p.22.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid., pp.23-5.

even after allowing for the greater population numbers, were a good indication of the growth of this neighbourhood.<sup>86</sup>

The approximate number of passengers carried, exclusive of season ticket-holders, was as follows:-

Point line	1,809 100
Berea and Umbilo lines	1,286 680
Florida Road and Stamford Hill	903 280
	-----
	3,999 060

The approximate tramcar mileage for 1900 was as follows:-

	Car Miles
Point line	123 945
Berea and Umbilo lines	188 071
Marriott Road and Mitchell Park	95 401
Stamford Hill " "	60 002 <sup>87</sup>

The electric tramway system was formally opened by Mayor Ernest Acutt and the Mayoress on 1 May 1902. The Mayor started the two tramway engines at the Alice Street Power Station, and the Mayoress switched on the current, which was then supplied by three sets of engines and boilers, and started the electric car. Thereafter cars at some sections were electrically-driven, instead of horse-drawn. These

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<sup>86</sup> Ibid., pp.22-5. The Tramways Manager commented that the traffic in the Florida and Stamford Hill district would be greater than the present Berea traffic which had not the same opportunities for extension.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid., p.23.

sections were between the Point and Town Hall; the Town Hall and Greyville; the Town Hall and Berea and Musgrave Roads junction.<sup>88</sup>

The only portions of the system on which electric cars had not superseded horse-drawn cars, were the Stamford Hill line beyond Churchill Road and the Umbilo Road section. There were in 1903 thirty-three electric cars in use<sup>89</sup> and by 1905 forty-six cars, which ensured greater comfort than before.<sup>90</sup>

Shortly after the installation of electric traction, W.D. Jeffs was appointed Tramway Manager, and held that office until May 1904. In July 1904, when the Durban Town Council celebrated its fiftieth anniversary, the staff of the Tramways Department consisted of the Secretary, a Traffic Superintendent, four Cashiers, ten Inspectors, two Despatchers, a Track Foreman, a Linesman, ten Car-shed men, fifty-four Conductors, and fifty-nine Motormen, totalling one hundred and forty-three Whites. The drivers' and conductors' pay in those early days was for the first three months 10d. per hour; for the second three months a maximum of 1s. 1d. per hour, at the General Manager's discretion.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> Ibid., 31 July 1902, pp.15-17. See Appendix I.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid., 31 July 1903, pp.83-6. See Heron 'Urban Passenger Transportation', Annexure I, giving progressive statistics over the period 1903-1945.

<sup>90</sup> Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1902, pp.15-17; *ibid.*, 1904, pp.119-22; *ibid.*, 1905, pp.12-13. Twenty-two of these cars were built by Messrs Milnes, of Birkenhead, England; eight in America by the Brill Company and 16 built at Motherwell, Scotland. All the cars were mounted on American Brill trucks and fitted with American electrical equipments.

<sup>91</sup> Henderson, Fifty Years, p.281.

A tramway enquiry bureau was erected at the corner of West and Gardiner Streets by the Town Council in 1908 and provided not only a convenient information office for visitors, but was also used for the sale of coupon tickets (introduced in 1903). A public telephone call office was also installed by the Council.<sup>92</sup> A special parcel service was introduced in 1906. This was quite a novelty in Durban and 300 parcels were carried on the trams to various suburbs in Durban in the first fortnight. The General Manager of the Tramway Department, H.N. Thomas, reported that it was capable of much further development.<sup>93</sup> A system whereby advertisements were permitted on the car ventilators only, in accordance with design approved by the Council, was adopted by Council in 1905. Tenders were invited for the sole right to these advertisements, whereby a yearly revenue of £1 600 was secured for the next five years by the Council.<sup>94</sup>

The ruling elite increasingly turned its attention to the possibilities of Durban as a seaside resort from 1906 onwards as mentioned before. Alternative proposals were made to extend the tramway system closer to the Ocean and Bay Embankment. The increased popularity among Durban residents of the Beach, as well as highly successful Christmas and winter tourist seasons in 1908, made the earnings of the Tramway Department exceed the expected amount.<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1908, pp.45-60; *ibid.*, 1903, pp.83-6 (Coupon tickets).

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, 31 July 1906, pp.156-60. These services ceased to operate in 1938.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, 31 July 1905, pp.12-13.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, 31 July 1908, pp.45-50.

This was in stark contrast to the case in 1907 when the earnings of the Tramways Department were considerably reduced due to a country-wide depression and hope was then expressed that it would soon pick up again.<sup>96</sup> The number of passengers recorded in Durban Mayor's Minutes for the Municipal year of 1911, was approximately sixteen million as against fourteen and a quarter million in 1910. Further extensions to the line were consequently contemplated.<sup>97</sup> The Tramway Department was able to assist in entertaining various visitors by providing reserved cars for a trip over the tramway system for Sport Associations, the South African Scientists' Association, and the Loyal Womens' Guild in 1906.<sup>98</sup> On the occasion of the elections for the first Union Parliament on 15 September 1910, reserved cars were used by most of the local candidates. An augmented Sunday afternoon service became necessary during the latter portion of 1910. A new Berea time table was put to use on 6 November 1910 which showed a change from a journey of fifteen minutes' in each direction to one of ten minutes, a proceeding which was recorded as entirely attributable to the growing popularity of the Mitchell Park Zoo for recreation purposes. The Zoo took shape from 1908 onwards when the ruling elite through the offices of Councillor R. Bishop, a well-known Zoologist, appointed an energetic Committee.<sup>99</sup> All traffic records were also broken during the Royal Visit of 2 December

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<sup>96</sup> Ibid., 31 July 1907, p.204.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid., 31 July 1911, pp.226-40. See Heron 'Urban Passenger Transportation', Annexure I for progressive statistics over the period 1903-1945.

<sup>98</sup> Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1907, p.9.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid., 31 July 1911, pp.226-40. See Tatlow, Descriptive Guide, pp.89, 93. Mitchell Park was named after Sir Charles Mitchell.



1910. Huge crowds viewed the illuminations in West Street, at the Town Hall, etc. during the same evening and no fewer than 89 780 fares were collected on that day. The band performance on New Year's Eve at the Town Hall was also very well patronised. No fewer than thirty-three cars carrying approximately 2 300 passengers left the Post Office for all termini shortly after midnight had chimed.<sup>100</sup> Ninety-three cars were provided throughout 1910 for the sole use of various institutions and visiting bodies, and, in addition, two hundred and forty-nine car journeys were made to carry the various military bands to and from their engagements. All this necessitated an increase of inspecting staff during 1910, owing to the larger operating staff then employed and the growing traffic requirements.<sup>101</sup> Popularity of the tramways was further indicated by the fact that single-decker trailers were introduced during 1905 on several of the routes and used during rush periods.<sup>102</sup>

A most unusual service was the introduction of 'funeral cars' in 1907. A somberly painted car, built at a cost of £1 500, appeared on the streets and was used only twice - on 20 November 1907 and in on 1 August 1908 - and then it was withdrawn because the undertakers of the town objected that they would soon be without work. In 1910 the first funeral car for 'non-Europeans' was placed in service (in 1931 it was replaced with a converted tram car), which was highly decorated with silver and aluminium on a black background and was

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<sup>100</sup> Ibid.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid., 31 July 1910, p.6.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid., 31 July 1905, pp.12-13, 140-2; *ibid.*, 1906, pp.14-15.

divided into two compartments, one to seat twelve persons and the other to seat sixteen. In addition there was a mortuary compartment at the one end.<sup>103</sup> The idea of funeral tramcars for Africans thus met with better response as it served the needs of the poorer section of the community and undertakers did not find this operation objectionable.

Accidents unfortunately occurred, for example three serious ones were recorded in 1900, with death resulting in the first instance and leg amputations in both of the remaining cases.<sup>104</sup> An 'Accident Insurance Fund' was consequently established in 1903 to provide for claims arising out of tramway accidents.<sup>105</sup> Better safety precautions were ensured when tramcar driver's licences were issued for the first time in 1910. All candidates were examined as to their sight, hearing and knowledge of driving a car, and they had to pass a driving test and demonstrate knowledge of the local Regulations and By-laws as laid down by the Council.<sup>106</sup>

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<sup>103</sup> Natal Mercury, 9 August 1939: 'Trams Have Served Durban For 59 Years. In accordance with colonial sentiment in Natal - none but Europeans were allowed to travel in the interior of any tramcar not specially reserved for Coloured passengers. It was not until the late 1930s that Africans were allowed on the top decks of the electric trams, having to occupy the last four to six seats of the back.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid.

<sup>105</sup> Heron, 'Urban Passenger Transportation', p.30.

<sup>106</sup> Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1911, pp.226-40.

Seventy-two trams were seen in the streets of Durban by 1910.<sup>107</sup> A new machine known as the General Joiner was put into operation, and it was estimated that in the future the Municipality would be putting cars on the road at a cost of approximately £800 each, complete, which was cheaper than imported vehicles.<sup>108</sup> Six single deck cars were converted to double deckers to increase passenger carrying capacity.<sup>109</sup> During the year, in addition to the construction work, maintenance of the rolling stock was carried on, and fifteen of the cars were thoroughly renovated. The upper decks of the cars had also been re-wired in order that both front and rear end destination signs should be illuminated, a convenience much appreciated by the travelling public. Altogether twenty-two cars were completely re-painted.<sup>110</sup> Such maintenance cost was paid out of a Depreciation Fund established in 1902. In addition, a Reserve Fund was created in 1908, on recommendation of a Special Committee. Such a fund would be used for any renewals to plant or machinery, which might become necessary in the interest of efficiency and economy.<sup>111</sup>

The average speed of the tramcar was about 10 m.p.h. and the maximum

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<sup>107</sup> Heron, 'Urban Passenger Transportation', Annexure I for progressive statistics over the period 1903-1945.

<sup>108</sup> Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1911, pp.226-40.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, 31 July 1909, p.105, *ibid.*, 1910, p.10.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.* See Natal Mercury, 9 August 1939. Keeping pace with the stride of transport development throughout the world, Durban eventually was to replace this tramway system with electrically-driven Trolley Buses on 23 February 1935 (the last tram being phased out on 1 August 1949), making the City of Durban's passenger transport in effect a new system. Ordinary single deck buses eventually replaced the trolleybus system from 1968 onwards and much of the charm of these trams and trolley buses was thereby lost.

<sup>111</sup> Heron, 'Urban Passenger Transportation', p.30.

speed 20 m.p.h. The mass of the tram was nine tons empty and the seating capacity thirty upstairs and twenty-four downstairs. The trams were also fitted with 'Providence' fenders and tram motors each had a capacity of 37 horse power.<sup>112</sup>

The governing settler elite (with reference to the British metropolitan city as a standard for technological developments), played a significant role in introducing railways and tramways to the colonial settlement of Durban. They were likewise responsible for the instalment of a comprehensive lighting system for the town.

Durban in 1894 covered an area of 11 square miles, had a total population of 25 007, comprising 12 772 Whites, 6 318 Africans, and 5 917 Asiatics, and a total Municipal Valuation of £2 483 610.<sup>113</sup> Approximately 650 lamp posts, equipped with paraffin lamps were initially erected by 1896 throughout the town for street lighting. These were maintained by one White and twenty-one Indian lamp lighters attached to the Police Department. The cost of maintaining this lighting amounted to £34 a month plus the cost of 100 cases of paraffin at 8s. per case.<sup>114</sup> Besides paraffin as an energy source, candles and coal gas were also used.

The governing elite made enquiries in 1887 to a certain Corbet Woodall, who represented an English Syndicate in London, about

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<sup>112</sup> From an interview with Kevan N.J. Mardon, Collector of Public Transport Artefacts, Friday, 16 March 1990 in the Traffic Department Office of Durban City Council, Durban.

<sup>113</sup> Felix Stark, Durban (Johannesburg: Telstar, 1960), p.70.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid.

establishing a Gas Works in Durban. A Special Committee Meeting was held on 22 October 1887 to discuss Woodall's proposal.<sup>115</sup> Electricity, however, enjoyed the preference of the ruling elite. The first small-scale electric plant installation was carried out by contract in 1887 between a British settler, George Ireland, and the Durban Town Council. Electric light was supplied to the Town Hall, Public Offices, St. Paul's Church and the Market House and maintained by George Ireland. Additional plant was ordered from the Anglo-American Brush Electric Light Company, Limited.<sup>116</sup> This contract expired only in 1895.<sup>117</sup> The Borough Engineer, J. Fletcher, obviously regarded this installation as a very costly affair and remarked in 1891 that:

'The maintenance of a small electric light installation, must of necessity be proportionally heavier than a more extensive system'.<sup>118</sup>

A comprehensive electrical installation for the town of Durban was only really undertaken in 1895. This resulted after Durban's Borough Engineer, J. Fletcher, submitted a report during September 1893 to the Town Council on 'Gas versus Electricity'.<sup>119</sup> He strongly favoured electricity over gas as a more practical alternative lighting medium for Durban and further suggested that such a municipal undertaking be combined with the Sewerage Outfall Works' steam plant at Bamboo Square, Point. By utilising the engines required during the daytime for pumping sewage and at night for

<sup>115</sup> Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1888, pp.12-13.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, p.22. See *ibid.*, 31 July 1890, pp.34-5.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, 31 July 1895, p.5.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, 31 July 1891, p.41.

<sup>119</sup> Henderson, Fifty Years, p.251.

driving electric machinery, a financial saving would be ensured.<sup>120</sup> Mayor George Payne and his Council decided to proceed with this comprehensive installation of electricity. Tenders were invited in England for the machinery and the bid of the Electric Construction Company, Limited, was accepted in 1895.<sup>121</sup> The site chosen for the Power Station was a portion of Bamboo Square, Point, where, under contract, the Company supplied and erected four Thomson-Houston arc machines. These were to light up West, Smith, Pine Street and Point Road by means of 'Brockie-Pell' arc lamps.<sup>122</sup>

In addition to the arc generators, six Peach high speed vertical engines, totalling 800 H.P., were also installed, which generated alternating electricity at 2 500 volts for supplies for incandescent lighting throughout the town. This primary 2 500 volt supply was distributed by means of three underground cables, one to a substation in the immediate vicinity of the Power Station and the other two to the Chief Substation situated in the basement of the Town Hall. From this latter substation high tension mains were laid to transforming positions in other parts of the town. The single phase 2 500 volt supply was transformed to 200 volts and 100 volts for supply to various consumers. This low tension supply was reticulated throughout the town's residential areas on the Berea by means of overhead mains, which meant a considerable saving in cost compared with that of the underground cable used only in the centre of town.<sup>123</sup>

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<sup>120</sup> Ibid.; Lynsky, They Built a City, p.29.

<sup>121</sup> Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1895, p.5.

<sup>122</sup> Henderson, Fifty Years, pp.251-2.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid.

On 22 June 1897, as part of the Diamond Jubilee Celebrations of Queen Victoria, the Mayoress, Mrs. G. Payne, switched on the lights from the Town Hall vestibule. In the same year John Roberts, who, as appointed Branch Manager conducted the electric installation on behalf of the Electric Construction Co., was appointed as Borough Electrical Engineer.<sup>124</sup> Durban was given a more urban look in comparison with the rural countryside by the advent of electricity, which must have added to the enhancement of urban living. During the first year 196 applications for connection to mains were received, presumably by the rich, who could afford it first. This involved the supply of 9 320 eight candle power lamps consuming 113 236 units (KWH) of electricity.<sup>125</sup>

Electricity proved so popular that it became necessary to build a larger Power Station in a more central position. The new Alice Street Power Station was opened in 1902 and the electric tramway system introduced. The total capital outlay for the Power Station involved some f133 200. The arc lighting machinery at the Point Power Station was discarded and the 'Brockie-Pell' lamps were replaced by lamps of the American general Electric Company's enclosed type, running five in series, being supplied by special 500-volt motor mains.<sup>126</sup> By 1904, after fifty years of municipal rule, 43 miles of high tension mains had been laid for private lighting. Mains were so arranged on the Berea, where many of the most privileged of Durban society resided, as to form a long

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<sup>124</sup> Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1897, pp.5-6, 80.

<sup>125</sup> Stark, Durban, p.71.

<sup>126</sup> Ibid., p.72; Henderson, Fifty Years, pp.265-6.



ring main with sub-ring mains, which could be split up into sections as required from the various street boxes or sub-stations. There were altogether fourteen mains by then leaving the station. The sub-stations, which were ten in number, were either built on top of or below ground.<sup>127</sup> The sub-station transformers were mostly of the American General Electric Company's oil type, of 30 kilowatts, convertible to either 100 or 200 volts.

The Berea transformer pillars, which were seventeen in number, with combined high and low tension switch boxes, were all above ground and placed on the kerb line. The lighting mains radiated from the various cross-roads where the transformers feeding the suburbs were placed. The current was then carried on porcelain insulators fixed to strong cross-arms near the tops of the poles, from where the house services were led off to the roof through a porcelain 'flying fuse'. The house mains were led through insulated tubes to meet the supply mains on the roof, and run to the meter board, which carried also a main switch and fuses.<sup>128</sup> Lightning arresters were placed where each feed cable joined the overhead mains, as well as on other prominent parts of the line. In addition to this, a guard wire, properly earthed at places, was run about 1 foot above the mains, secured at every pole to ensure continuous supply and safety against lightning storms which frequently occurred in Durban, sometimes causing falling wires.<sup>129</sup> The principal roads on the Berea were also lit by arc lamps, suspended from the span wires close to the poles.

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<sup>127</sup> Henderson, Fifty Years, p.267.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid., p.268.

Incandescent lamps were alternatively suspended from the span-wire in a special watertight fitting. A special switch-wire was run for the control of these from wherever desired. Side streets were lit by incandescent lamps fitted on brackets to the poles, of which the total used for street lighting by 1904 came to 820.<sup>130</sup>

There was a growing demand for electric light, and the charge for electric current supplied to private consumers amounted to 8d per unit, with a scale of discounts to large consumers. In 1901 the revenue derived from this source amounted to £21 537, and in 1903 this had increased to £53 532.<sup>131</sup> Separate electrification arrangements for supply of electric light and current to private consumers numbered 1 846 in 1903,<sup>132</sup> 3 418 in 1906,<sup>133</sup> and increased from 4 722 in 1910 to 5 109 in 1911.<sup>134</sup> The replacing of steam power plants by electric motors was also becoming increasingly popular amongst those engaged in the various trades of the town.<sup>135</sup> This was evidenced by the fact that, at the commencement of 1903, the total horsepower of private motors supplied was 83, while the total near the end of the municipal year numbered 523.<sup>136</sup> It was estimated that by 1907, in the ten years of Municipal electricity in Durban, tramways took forty per cent of the total amount of current. Other Municipal Departments (by far the largest being Waterworks and Sewerage), accounted for 11.6 per cent of the total demanded, but

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<sup>130</sup> Ibid., p.270.

<sup>131</sup> Ibid., p.271.

<sup>132</sup> Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1903, pp.4-5.

<sup>133</sup> Ibid., 31 July 1906, p.81.

<sup>134</sup> Ibid., 31 July 1911, pp.18-19, 221-5.

<sup>135</sup> Henderson, Fifty Years, p.271.

only contributed 3.9 per cent of the revenue. The following list gave particulars of the demand and the revenue contributed from all sources:

	Units sold		Revenue Derived	
	Amount	Percentage	Amount	Percentage
		of total		of total
Tramways	2 266 000	40.5	£11 800	15.4
Street Lighting	644 000	11.5	8 700	11.2
Municipal Departments				
Power Supply	650 000	11.6	3 000	3.9
Municipal Departments				
Lighting	140 000	2.5	3 700	4.8
Private Power Supply	500 000	8.9	5 900	7.7
Private Lighting	1 400 000	25.0	43 700	57.0
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Total	5 600 000	100.0	£76 800	100.0 <sup>137</sup>

The Borough Engineer reported that Natal coal, generally of a good quality, was used and burnt with automatic fuel feeders. A high working result was obtained as 10 lbs. of water evaporated per lb. of coal at 212 degrees Fahrenheit.<sup>138</sup> Negotiations with the Natal Government, prior to Union in 1910, regarding the supply of all the electrical requirements of the Railways and Harbour Departments by the Municipal Power Station, were successfully concluded by the ruling settler elite in 1910. The necessary machinery was installed.<sup>139</sup> Upon the expansion of the plant to serve

<sup>137</sup> Ibid., 31 July 1907, p.151.

<sup>138</sup> Ibid., p.152.

<sup>139</sup> Ibid., 31 July 1911, pp.18-19, 221-5.

these Departments, working hours were increased, which could only be beneficial to Durban's economy. Electricity had come to stay. The Durban environment was transformed by this shaping and adaptation directed by the controlling British sector of society. The latter was represented by a generation of local business leaders, mostly associated with the Durban Town Council, who amassed unprecedented civic influence to control the growth of Durban.

The answer to the need for rapid urban communication came with the invention of the telephone by Alexander Graham Bell, who first demonstrated it in practical form at the Philadelphia American Centennial Exposition in 1876. The telephone remained a scientific toy until it was bettered by a number of improvements and ways were found to utilize it in a system. The carbon transmitter, the elimination of wire noises by a metallic-circuit system, the central switchboard, and the multiple switchboard, were essential for the functioning of the instrument as an urban communication device.<sup>140</sup>

Telephone communications were introduced to Durban by private enterprise, in contrast to the practice in Cape Town, East London, Pretoria, Kimberley, Queenstown and King Williams Town, where these undertakings were government sponsored.<sup>141</sup> It is interesting to record that the first telephone exchange in South Africa was established in Port Elizabeth in 1882, followed by Cape Town in 1884, with Durban placed third.<sup>142</sup>

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<sup>140</sup> Glaab and Brown, A History of Urban America, pp.162-3.

<sup>141</sup> Stark, Durban, p.205.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid.

The entrepreneurial British settler, George Ireland, introduced four telephones to Durban in 1884 and imported a switchboard with ten lines. The enterprise was however, doomed to failure, due to a lack of knowledge of the instruments and the undertaking, as well as through the inadequate exchange apparatus.<sup>143</sup>

The second attempt was by T.N. Price, who introduced a telephone exchange to Durban in 1886, with about twelve subscribers. The number had increased to fifty two years later. The undertaking of T.N. Price, known as the 'Earth-circuit Call Wire System', was floated as a company under the name of the 'Natal Telephone Company, Limited' in 1889, with Messrs Champion and Co. as secretaries. The governing settler elite was very accommodating regarding usage of the streets and roads of Durban for the erection of posts and the running of telephone wires. Certain conditions were stipulated by an agreement in the year 1896 reached between the Company and the Durban Town Council, amongst others the option that the Council could acquire the Company's concern on the expiry of the agreement.<sup>144</sup>

'In order to obviate the probability of claims for damage by the Company to their system by the incorporation of electric traction, the Council decided to purchase the Company's undertaking, and advised them accordingly.'<sup>145</sup>

Act 31 of 1897 entitled either the Natal Government or the Durban

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<sup>143</sup> Henderson, Fifty Years, p.328; See Natal Mercury, 25 October 1937: No Switchboard Girls in 1884; Daily News, 27 March 1969: Telephone Department reaches the end of the Corporation line; ibid., 22 June 1973: Telephone Exchange.

<sup>144</sup> Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1906, pp.168-71; Henderson, Fifty Years, pp.328-9, wrote that this agreement was entered into in 1891.

<sup>145</sup> Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1906, p.168.

Town Council, for the above mentioned reasons, to expropriate the Company at any given time on giving three months' notice, the value of the Company's assets to be determined by arbitration and fixed tariff of charges.<sup>146</sup> The Natal Government wasted no time and in the same year put the Pietermaritzburg exchange, which had been erected a few years earlier by private enterprise, under state control.<sup>147</sup> Durban's Mayor, John Nicol, and Town Council followed suit on 1 January 1901 by municipalizing the Durban telephone undertaking at a cost of £22 274. By that time the number of telephone subscribers in Durban had risen to 598,<sup>148</sup> participation presumably reflecting the subscribers' commercial power and social status.

A Telephone Committee with Deputy-Mayor H.R. Collins as Chairman, was appointed. The ruling elite decided to modernise completely the service by taking out a loan for £100 000 in London to install a central battery system, and an exchange house. (The loan was not repayable until 1953).<sup>149</sup> Contracts were entered into with the Western Electric Company and with British Insulated and Helsby Cables, Limited. British architects, Stott and Kirkby, were commissioned to design the central telephone exchange building and work was commenced in 1903.<sup>150</sup> This new addition to Durban's public buildings, comprising three storeys and basement, was situated in

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<sup>146</sup> Henderson, Fifty Years, pp.328-9.

<sup>147</sup> Stark, Durban, p.206.

<sup>148</sup> Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1906, p.168; Stark, Durban, p.206.

<sup>149</sup> Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1903, p.13; Daily News, 22 June 1973 and 17 March 1969.

<sup>150</sup> Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1903, p.13; *ibid.*, p.168; Henderson, Fifty Years, p.333.

Nicol Square at the corner of Field Street between Commercial Road and Pine Street and officially opened on 11 December 1905.

Approximately 700 telephone subscribers were listed in Durban's first telephone Directory, published in 1906.<sup>151</sup>

As regards the issue of Durban participating in a proposed trunk telephone system throughout the Colony of Natal (which possibility arose after a meeting with the Postmaster General and the telephone Engineer), the governing settler elite affirmed the principle of contributing to the cost of establishing telephone communication between Durban and other centres of the Colony.<sup>152</sup> Telephonic communication was extended (after application had been made in 1904), from the Governor's Marine Residence (King's House) to the principal Under Secretary of the Natal Government in Pietermaritzburg.<sup>153</sup>

The Natal Government's independently operated Railway and Harbour exchanges at the Point and Bluff were taken over by the Durban Town Council in 1907 and the wires linked up with the central telephone exchange.<sup>154</sup>

Owing to a severe commercial depression after the conclusion of the Anglo-Boer War in 1902, the demand for telephone connections did not come up to anticipation. With a view to dealing with the prevailing

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<sup>151</sup> Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1906, p.168; Daily News, 27 March 1969.

<sup>152</sup> Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1903, p.13,

<sup>153</sup> PWD 2/134, no.3338/1904 and 2/176, no.3984/1907.

<sup>154</sup> NHD 11/1/120, Minute 1224/1907.



hard times, a scheme was submitted for reduction of rents to private residences. A Telephone Department replaced the Telephone Committee in 1907.<sup>155</sup> Public companies could also be connected upon application to make this enterprise more lucrative; for example, Lion Match Co. in Durban was granted permission to be connected up with their splint factory at South Coast Junction.<sup>156</sup> Call offices were established at the following points for public convenience:

Central Exchange, Field Street	3
Central Exchange, Pine Street	1
Harvey, Greenacre & Co., West Street	1
Umbilo Police Station	1
Greyville Tram Shelter	1
"E" Shed, Point	1
Musgrave Road	1

The most frequently patronised call offices up to that stage, were those of Messrs Harvey Greenacre & Co., and Musgrave Road, which in turn was of benefit to Mayor Benjamin Greenacre.<sup>157</sup>

To make the service even more attractive to users, extension telephones were introduced. These consisted of a microphone fitted with an automatic 'cut out' device, so that the user had practically all the advantages of a direct connection to the exchange at little more than one third of the cost of a second ordinary connection.<sup>158</sup>

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<sup>155</sup> Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1906, p.168.

<sup>156</sup> CSD 1840, Minute 5899/1907.

<sup>157</sup> Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1906, p.160.

<sup>158</sup> Ibid., p.170.

To save cost, the ruling elite also decided gradually to reduce the staff of the Telephone Department, comprising 72 Whites and 42 Africans at salaries totalling £1 020 per month in 1905 and 39 Whites and 20 Africans in 1906 at salaries totalling £532 per month.<sup>159</sup> As the popularity of telephone usage grew, staff numbers were again increased by 1911 to 27 White males, 25 White females and 26 Africans. Revenue collected amounted to £18 807 during the same year.<sup>160</sup> The increased popularity of telephonic communication is clearly shown in the following tabulation of connections:

	1908	1909	1910	1911	Increase
Business	858	908	1 014	1 162	304
Residential	221	272	343	481	260
Extension (Business)	80	105	131	181	101
Private Direct	83	85	89	104	21
<hr/>					
Total	1 242	1 370	1 577	1 928	686 <sup>161</sup>

Durban continued operating one centralised hand-operated exchange system from 1904 until 1922 when the first automatic satellite exchange, Toll Gate, was installed in Berea Road between Hunt and

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<sup>159</sup> Ibid., p.171.

<sup>160</sup> Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1911, pp.20-5.

<sup>161</sup> Ibid.

Manning Roads.<sup>142</sup> The telephone made possible rapid communication throughout the sprawling urban areas, acting as a unifier and drawing early Durbanites together; for even if they could not see each other, they could hear each other. From a small private enterprise the Durban telephone system grew, was municipalised in 1901, and eventually became state-owned when the Posts and Telegraphs Department took over in 1969.<sup>143</sup>

Three lucrative municipal assets have been discussed in this chapter - telephones, tramways and electricity. They were controlled by the influential British ruling class of Durban. The latter utilized these undertakings to increase the profitability of the municipality. At the same time the undertakings also acted beneficially to the burgesses of Durban. The physical spatial form of the colonial city of Durban was affected by (British) applied technology. The economic level of urban development of Durban was interwoven with these technological steps to progress. The Durban environment was changed as directed by the controlling British sector of society.

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<sup>142</sup> Natal Mercury, 25 October 1937; Daily News, 27 March 1969 and 22 June 1973. The opening of this Exchange together with the Overport Exchange, situated in Ridge Road near South Road, which was commissioned by the Union Government, thus marked the introduction of automatic telephone working into South Africa. The second automatic satellite was installed to serve the Stamford Hill area in 1923. The Exchange was sited in Windemere Road opposite Sutton Park. On 1 February 1936, the automatisisation of the whole of Durban's municipal telephone system was undertaken and Durban said goodbye to the familiar voices of the 'Hello Girls', the telephone operators for almost 36 years.

<sup>143</sup> Daily News, 22 June 1973, reported that there were in the greater Durban area, that is from Hillcrest to the coast and from Isipingo to La Lucia, 90 000 lines using 167 000 telephone handsets, operated through 24 exchanges.

## Chapter 9

Sanitary Improvements.

Many systems in the colonial urban settlement required the application of technology. Two of such systems were the supply of water and the disposal of refuse, and these modified both the physical and social structure of the city. Manifestations of regulative institutions of government appeared in the form of built structures in the environment, for example the City Hall and Municipal Offices, and so did plant for services of electricity, water supply and sewage disposal.

Superior technological/economic resources at the disposal of a dominant colonial minority was a characteristic feature of a typical British colonial city.<sup>1</sup> The dominant British sector of colonial Durban society was no exception. They also displayed 'the essence of colonialism, the imposition on another people of a system of values not their own.'<sup>2</sup> Their changing of the Durban environment to suit the form or level of the social, political and technological organizations with which they were familiar, modelled as they were on the metropolitan city, were indeed cultural responses to the environment. Some of these changes within the city were the product of general overarching municipal policy. Most changes, however, were the result of a multitude of single decisions, public and private; inevitably there had to be bargains and compromises.

We have been examining, within the framework of a particular distribution of power, some cultural responses to the environment.

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<sup>1</sup> King, 'Colonial Cities', in Ross and Telkamp (eds ), Colonial Cities, p.10.

<sup>2</sup> Mason, Patterns of Dominance, p.285.

This chapter elaborates further how the dominating White settler elite, as represented in the Durban Town Council, with access to (British) applied technology coped with the problems which urbanization brings.

'The building of the cities was a characteristic Victorian achievement impressive in scale but limited in vision creating new opportunities but also providing massive new problems.'<sup>3</sup>

As the 'Sanitary Idea' ('prevention is better than cure'),<sup>4</sup> became established in local government in England's Victorian cities, the preservation of health within the congestion of industrial cities received top priority. The reform movement, which had played a notable part in legislative change over nearly half a century and which also led to the introduction of municipal government in South African colonial cities, lost ground. As the ideal of healthy cities remained, however, a powerful motivator, a 'sanitary system more comprehensive than the transport system'<sup>5</sup> now took its place. The congested colonial city of Durban would also benefit accordingly.

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<sup>3</sup> Briggs, Victorian Cities, p.16.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., pp.20-1, discussed the early advocates of the 'Sanitary Idea' or 'prevention is better than cure', followed by an extensive explanation of appropriate legislation that followed in its wake. See also Elie Halevy, The Age of Peel and Cobden: A History of the English People 1841-1852 (London: Benn, 1949), pp.152-5, 226-7; Gordon E. Cherry, Cities and Plans. The Shaping of Urban Britain in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries (London: Edward Arnold, 1988), pp.30-48; Trevelyan, English Social History, p.526. Ken Young and Patricia L. Garside, Metropolitan London. Politics and Urban Change 1837-1981 (London: Longman, 1982), pp.7-104, dealt in these pages with the initial struggle of Londoners and, in particular, the myriad public agencies in an era of unprecedented urban growth.

<sup>5</sup> Briggs, Victorian Cities, pp.16-17. A contemporary of Victorian times, Patrick Geddes in City Development: A Study of Parks, Gardens and Culture-Institutes: A Report to the Carnegie Dunfermline Trust (Edinburgh: Geddes, 1904), pp.212-14, provided a summary of civic problems encountered. He put forward a civic betterment policy, wherein he advocated that (where there was growth of civic consciousness and conscience) the best security worthy of a city of the future was to be found.

New technological demands in the mother country had led to fundamental technical inventions for use in urban centres, such as for the conservation of water, for which devices of piping, pumping, reservoir-holding, sewerage and sewage disposal and plumbing,<sup>6</sup> were developed. Such inventions would now be progressively applied throughout the British Empire.

Colonial cities, for example Durban and Melbourne in Australia, had the advantage of being able to follow European examples of planning the environment rather than of engaging in 'a long series of experiments before arriving at the conclusion of what is the best method to be adopted.'<sup>7</sup> The dramatic change involved in developing a strip of territory from humble beginnings into a recognized South African town in just over half a century, was attributable to the energetic Victorian community in Durban which, even though located in a distant part of the British Empire, applied the new technology.

The Durban Town Council's moulding of the growing town was evidenced by various progressive measures taken for health reasons. A start was made towards regulating to a certain extent the environment, and determining how Durbanites should live, what the city should look like and how Durban should function socially and economically.

The higher stratum among Durbanites were not immune to communicable diseases, to bacteria in polluted water or to pulmonary

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<sup>6</sup> Eric de Maré, The London Doré: A Victorian Evocation (London: Allen Lane, 1973), p.47.

<sup>7</sup> Briggs, Victorian Cities, pp.277-310. See Marjorie Barnard, A History of Australia (London: Angus & Robertson, 1976), p.98.

deterioration as a result of polluted air.<sup>8</sup> Water, sewerage, power, transport, road construction and maintenance generally were identified as major urban problems in Durban during the second half of the nineteenth century. The sheer pace of growth almost overwhelmed the earliest Durban Town Councillors as it did administrative structures of many early nineteenth century British cities. The necessary skills had to be developed by this influential class to manage a growing city and at the same time improve the quality of life for all the races living in it.

The Durban Town Council, in accordance with Ordinance no. 1 of 1854, was empowered to form Committees from among themselves to carry out their tasks. Their proceedings had to be submitted to the Whole Council Committee for approval. (The Mayor was 'ex officio' a member of all Committees.)<sup>9</sup> A Committee comprising four Councillors was accordingly formed during the same year to carry out public improvements in the Borough of Durban. This was the beginning of organized public works and sanitary departments.<sup>10</sup> Public works included the making of roads, streets, bridges and embankments, drainage and water supply systems, fire protection and lighting, the establishment of a market and assizing. Public health came to cover sewage and refuse removal, provision made for cemeteries and

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<sup>8</sup> Percy Laidler & Michael Gelfand, South Africa: Its Medical History 1852-1898: A Medical and Social Study (Cape Town: Struik, 1971), pp.323-4, mentioned that not until the 1880s was the germ theory of disease generally accepted in the Western world.

<sup>9</sup> Natal Mercury: Supplement, 3 May 1854: Proclamation.

<sup>10</sup> Henderson, Fifty Years, pp. 12, 45, wrote that in August 1855, the Public Works Department was inaugurated by a resolution authorizing the Town Committee to appoint one or more labourers. To him the start of the Durban Town Council's Sanitary Department was with the appointment of W.H. Stonell's as Inspector of Nuisances in June 1861.



slaughter houses, the borough pound, general medical planning, recreation and the borough census.<sup>11</sup> By 1890 there were eight Standing Committees which, besides the Whole Council Committee, held regular meetings.<sup>12</sup> Public Works, Water Supply and Tolls fell under one Committee then comprising six Councillors. Parks, Cemeteries and Tree Planting fell under another Committee of six Councillors, and Sanitary, Drainage and the Market under a Committee comprising five Councillors.<sup>13</sup>

Obviously, people with particular skills had to be contracted by these Committees to carry out the necessary improvements. This in turn led to the ruling elite's appointment of Borough Engineers with civil engineering skills and Medical Officers with medical skills. They also employed Inspectors of Nuisances with general streetkeeping duties (as also performed by the police and discussed in Chapter 2) to enforce sanitary measures. The appointment of an Inspector of Meats in 1855 (instead of the Town Clerk performing the duties), replaced by an Inspector of Nuisances in June 1861, marked the earliest recorded sanitary measures undertaken by the Town Council.<sup>14</sup> The first Medical Officer was appointed by the Sanitary

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid. See Bjorvig, 'The History of the Durban Town Council 1854-1879', pp.41-2.

<sup>12</sup> See Appendix F.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Bjorvig, 'The History of the Durban Town Council, 1854-1879', pp.111-13. See Henderson, Fifty Years, p.45, who described W.H. Stonell's appointment as Inspector of Nuisances as the start of the Durban Town Council's Sanitary Department.

Committee in 1875.<sup>15</sup> The responsibility for sanitary arrangements was increased under the Public Health Act of 1901. The Durban Town Council took over sole responsibility from the Natal Government for notification and prevention of infectious disease and for combatting any possible outbreak of plague. Dr P. Murison was then appointed as permanent Medical Officer of Health to manage all health matters.<sup>16</sup> In 1903 he introduced a Public Health Department with a laboratory similar to those created by the more progressive municipalities in England. The inspectorate for sanitary measures was enlarged. In addition to a Chief Sanitary Inspector, ten Assistant Inspectors were appointed by 1904, which marked fifty years of Town Council rule. Five of these were experienced Sanitary Inspectors from England. Two Sanitary Inspectors were detailed for the control of infectious diseases. Another was to enforce the provision of the Adulteration of Foods Act,<sup>17</sup> as well as inspect premises for which trade licences had been applied. The remaining seven Inspectors had to inspect the suburbs. Seven hundred Indians were employed by this Department for unskilled work by 1904. Use was made of one

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<sup>15</sup> Edmund H. Burrows, A History of Medicine in South Africa (Cape Town: Balkema, 1958), pp.198-226, provided insight into the role which different medical practitioners played in Durban and Natal. Dr Julius Schultz held the temporary office of Medical Officer for a period of sixteen years and was succeeded by Dr Sam Campbell in 1891. It was only from 1902 onwards that a permanent officer was appointed. See A.F. Hattersley, British Settlement, pp.69-81 and A Hospital Century, pp.30-50; also Bjorvig, 'History of the Durban Town Council, 1854-1879', pp.130-1.

<sup>16</sup> Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1901, pp.61-6; *ibid.*, 31 July 1903, pp.51-65. See Henderson, Fifty Years, pp.301-2.

<sup>17</sup> This Act, somewhat similar to the Dairy and Milkshop Act of England, was formulated to seize bad foodstuffs under the Mayor's warrant. The Mayor reported in 1890 that consequent on disease among cattle, there existed apprehension of contaminated milk being vended and supplied in Durban. See Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July, 1890, pp.43-6.

hundred horses and eighty-five vehicles.<sup>18</sup> Disease was often brought to Durban by shipborne infection and precautions were taken from an early date. A colonial law (No.4 of 1854) on quarantine was promulgated to control the introduction of disease by ship.<sup>19</sup> Ship's officers also faced a penalty if they communicated with the shore before a pratique had been granted. (This was an official document certifying that no diseases were to be found on board). In the absence of the Port Health Officer, the Port Captain might grant clearance.<sup>20</sup>

Bubonic Plague was brought to Durban in December 1902. The governing elite responded by erecting a Disinfecting Station near the Electric Power Station from which steam was obtained for disinfecting washing.<sup>21</sup> To every infected house a special pail was supplied containing disinfectants, in which was placed all waste material from the room where the patient was nursed. An ambulance for infectious cases was kept at the Disinfecting Station, as well as an airtight chamber into which any carriage or 'ricksha' used for conveying an infectious patient could be placed for disinfection. Four horses and vans were employed to deal with work relating to infectious diseases.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 1904, pp.70-93; Henderson, Fifty Years, p.300.

<sup>19</sup> Gelfand and Laidler, South Africa: Its Medical History, p.325. One third of any fine imposed by a court was to be paid to the informer. This law was repealed by Law No. 3 of 1859, which again established and regulated quarantine.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.; Natal Witness, 28 August 1857. Dr Charles Johnston was the first Port Health Officer appointed by the Natal Government until his return to England in 1860.

<sup>21</sup> Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1903, pp.51-65.

<sup>22</sup> Henderson, Fifty Years, pp.301-2.

A Plague Administration Committee consisting of the Colonial Health Officer, Dr Hill, the Durban Medical Officer, Dr Murison, the Port Health Officer, Dr Fernandez, with the Mayor as Chairman, were appointed in December 1903. Treatment was effected on Salisbury Island, where a Plague Hospital was erected in 1901. Plague-infected rats were found in a block of buildings at the Point, and several people working in the building were infected. Rat catchers were employed. Fortunately the plague never reached the epidemic stage; 174 cases were initially reported of which 125 proved fatal.<sup>23</sup>

Cholera<sup>24</sup> visitations were another example of disease brought to Durban by ship passengers, for example as early as 1860, when the first indentured Indians arrived. Such infected cases were housed on the seaward side of the Bluff and on Salisbury Island, where 'their filthy rags were burnt, and new raiment issued'.<sup>25</sup> During 1888 a ship from India bringing labourers reported twenty-seven cases of cholera-infected patients, which resulted in nine deaths.<sup>26</sup> In 1890 a ship brought 400 Indian labourers who were placed in quarantine, of

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<sup>23</sup> Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1904, pp.70-93; Henderson, Fifty Years, p.311.

<sup>24</sup> Robert Koch discovered the comma bacillus of cholera in Egypt in 1881 and confirmed his discovery in Calcutta in 1884. See Laidler and Gelfand, South Africa: Its Medical History, p.389.

<sup>25</sup> Russell, Old Durban, pp.490-2.

<sup>26</sup> Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1888, pp.25-8.

whom nine died from 'Asiatic Cholera'.<sup>27</sup> Four Indian lepers were returned the same year to India.<sup>28</sup> Henderson wrote in his book on the first fifty years of Durban's municipal history:

'It has been clearly recognised by the Municipality that the greater number of Asiatics living in the Borough are wholly ignorant of the simplest and most obvious laws of sanitation and domestic cleanliness, and it is clearly apparent that the Sanitary By-laws framed for a European population are not always applicable to this class of the community.'<sup>29</sup>

Henderson further emphasized that,

'In 1880 the Western Vlei location was overcrowded by hovels of all shapes and sizes. A crusade for the removal of these hovels was proceeded with, and extended over 1880 and 1881, when they were replaced by new buildings with better sanitary provisions.'<sup>30</sup>

In 1891 Mayor Benjamin Greenacre apparently drew attention to the Indian depot at Addington pointing out that this was a most undesirable place for such an establishment. Although frequent representations had been made in regard to the insanitary condition of this depot, it still remained in a more or less unhealthy condition.<sup>31</sup> In 1895 Mayor Robert Jameson moved that it was in the

<sup>27</sup> Gelfand and Laidler, South Africa: Its Medical History, p.389, reported that public outcry culminated in Law No. 17 of 1895, restricting Indian immigrants from August 1896. The Orange River Colony, the Cape and the Transvaal all passed legislation at the time restricting the entrance of Indians. Although the Natal sugar planters received the labour they required, according to Gelfand and Laidler, p.387, 'a permanent slum was introduced into the Colony'. See also G.H. Calpin, Indians in South Africa (Pietermaritzburg: Shuter & Shooter, 1949), pp.3-20, who wrote as follows: 'The profit motive outweighed the social inconvenience. Natal, in its eagerness to make money, gave no thought for the morrow. The time was soon to come when those who pleaded for more Indian coolies and who enriched themselves by Indian labour were loudest in demanding repatriation.'

<sup>28</sup> Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1890, pp.43-6.

<sup>29</sup> Henderson, Fifty Years, p.307.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., pp.307-8.

interests of public health 'to form a Coolie location', and the question was referred to the Sanitary Committee for report. The matter was, however, shelved.<sup>32</sup> In 1903 Mayor J. Ellis Brown, laid before the Council an instructive Minute on the subject of the working of the Immigration Restriction Law, but apparently nothing could be done 'towards accomplishing this most desirable end from a public point of view until legislation is obtained.'<sup>33</sup>

Fear of smallpox was dealt with in Durban by means of vaccinations as early as 1858.<sup>34</sup> In addition to Addington hospital, opened in 1879 to replace the old Government Hospital on the Bayside, there were two Epidemic Hospitals in existence. The first Epidemic Hospital was erected by the Natal Government in 1883, owing to an outbreak of smallpox amongst Africans working at the Point. Until 1894 this Hospital was administered by the Government, the Durban Magistrate being the local Executive Officer. As the municipality's officers were carrying out all the duties, it was decided, on the suggestion of the Prime Minister, Sir John Robinson, that the Durban Town Council should take over the entire management. An arrangement was entered into whereby the Government agreed to carry half the expenses. This hospital was then solely used for the isolation of cases of smallpox, cholera, scarlet fever, measles, chicken-pox and syphilis. During the bubonic plague scare of 1902-3, it was utilized

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<sup>32</sup> Ibid., p.308. Of course, contemporary social historians would argue this was not an exercise in sanitation but in social control. Swanson in 'The Rise of Multiracial Durban' covers the Durban Town Council's unsuccessful attempts, especially the efforts made by Councillor Robert Jameson with the help of Superintendent R.C. Alexander, to pursue a location policy for Indian and Native labourers employed by the Durban Town Council.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> Bjorvig, 'History of the Durban Town Council, 1854-1879', p.125.

by the Plague Administration for compulsory detention of Africans and Indians who had been exposed to the infection. An additional Epidemic Hospital was erected in 1897 on the recommendation of the ruling elite that further precautionary measures should be taken. This building was situated to the south of the old Hospital. Both the Epidemic Hospitals, as well as a Plague Hospital erected on Salisbury Island in 1901, were placed under the superintendence of the Borough Medical Officer of Health. A smallpox epidemic in the Borough during 1905, with over 600 cases reported mainly among Coloureds, necessitated vaccinating between 60 000 and 70 000 people.<sup>35</sup>

Smallpox and plague, with enteric fever and dysentery accounting for over 90 per cent of the total notifiable diseases, all contributed to an expansion by 1903, as mentioned before, by the Durban Town Council, of Public Health and Sanitary duties in Durban. This was carried out by the five certified and experienced Assistant Sanitary Inspectors engaged from Britain,<sup>36</sup> and P. Murison, who had already commenced his duties as Medical Officer by September 1902. An important result of these epidemics was the realisation of the necessity for agreement between the various colonies in South Africa in matters of maritime hygiene. A general outcry arose from District Surgeons in the Cape that more Medical Officers and Sanitary Inspectors were needed.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1905: Attached Medical Officer's Report, pp.86-116; Henderson, Fifty Years, pp.309, 311.

<sup>36</sup> Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1905: Attached Medical Officer's Report, pp.86-116.

<sup>37</sup> Laidler and Gelfand, South Africa: Its Medical History, p.430.



Medical Officers in general were not indifferent to the environment and promoted healthier living for all races.<sup>38</sup> Such concern was portrayed in detailed recorded reports attached to the Mayor's Minutes. They provided accounts of general health in Durban, as well as advice on preventative measures to be taken, not only in preventing major outbreak of disease, but to cut down on the alarming size of figures determined yearly concerning the notifiable disease, Tuberculosis (then known as Consumption of the Lungs), which carried off considerably more than 100 people per annum.<sup>39</sup> The latter communicable disease (by 'expectoration' and infected foodstuffs), made it necessary for the Durban Town Council to establish a Tuberculosis Bureau in 1911 (the first Municipality in South Africa to do so), with the appointment of a specialized Medical Tuberculosis Officer, Basil Adams. He expressed the hope that a sanatorium and hospital to treat such patients would be forthcoming.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Burrows, A History of Medicine in South Africa, p.1, wrote that the mid-1890s marked the transition period between the old order and the new one in South African medical affairs. The first 'South African Medical Directory' issued in 1896, was to him symbolic of the change, which also gave an account of the dynamic post-1896 period. Laidler and Gelfand, South Africa: Its Medical History 1852-1898, in general also provided a lively account of medical history in South Africa.

<sup>39</sup> Durban Mayor's Minutes, 31 July 1911: Attached Medical Report, pp.149-95. See *ibid.*, 1908, p.149, wherein it was reported that in 1908 that the incidence of the disease among the White population was equal to 0.7 per 1 000 p.a., a figure less than half of that existing amongst the population of Great Britain. Amongst Africans, the figure amounted to 1.48 per 1 000, and amongst Indians 5.06 per 1 000 p.a.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 31 July 1911: Attached Report by Tuberculosis Medical Officer, pp. 149-95.

The Durban Town Council was thus kept informed by Sanitary Department officials of sanitary matters, whether of overcrowding, inadequate drainage, or offensive nuisances. These reports, filed as historical records of the past, were rough indicators of birth and death rates in colonial Durban society and also gave some indication of the quality of life experienced a century ago. The European birth-rate exceeded the death rate,<sup>41</sup> but there were instances of a very high Infantile Mortality Rate. The Medical Officers' Reports of 1882 and 1900, respectively, carried alarming figures (see Tables 1 and 2). Asa Briggs said: 'The infant mortality rate was as always an index of lack of social control.'<sup>42</sup>

Table 1

Death Distribution Figures for European Durbanites (1882)

14	under ten days	} 53 deaths under 1 year.
5	over 10 days but under 1 month	
22	" 1 month " 6 "	
12	" 6 " " 1 year	
8	over 1 year but under 2 years	
1	" 2 " " 5 "	
1	" 5 " " 10 "	
4	" 10 " " 20 "	
23	" 20 " " 30 "	
17	" 30 " " 40 "	
10	" 40 " " 50 "	
9	" 50 " " 60 "	
6	" 60 " " 70 "	
4	" 70 " " 80 "	
4	" 80 "	

1 age not known, a labourer.

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<sup>41</sup> Statistics were recorded in *ibid.*, from 1862-1910/11 (which covers the colonial period), regrettably in more detail of the European population. See Appendix U.

<sup>42</sup> Briggs, *Victorian Cities*, p.269.

<sup>43</sup> *Durban Mayor's Minute*, 31 July 1882: Attached Medical Officer's Report, pp.8-10. The mortality of European infants, 53 deaths under one year, was remarkably high when considered that it was out of a total of 147 deaths recorded.

Table 2

CLASSIFICATION OF DEATHS FROM ALL CAUSES  
ACCORDING TO AGES.

	MONTH.	AGES															
		0 to 1 Year.	1 to 2 Years.	2 to 3 Years.	3 to 4 Years.	4 to 5 Years.	5 to 10 Years.	10 to 15 Years.	15 to 20 Years.	20 to 25 Years.	25 to 35 Years.	35 to 45 Years.	45 to 55 Years.	55 to 65 Years.	65 to 75 Years.	75 to 85 Years.	85 and above.
1899	August ... ..	2	...	2	...	...	1	...	...	2	3	3	1	2	...	...	...
	September ... ..	11	3	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	2	6	3	2	...	2	1
	October ... ..	21	3	2	1	...	1	...	...	1	8	3	2	3	2	...	...
	November ... ..	24	11	2	...	1	...	...	2	4	9	6	5	3	3	...	1
	December ... ..	28	11	5	1	3	2	1	2	...	4	4	5	3	1	...	...
1900	January ... ..	20	13	1	...	1	2	1	4	2	9	6	8	5	4	1	...
	February ... ..	11	6	2	...	...	...	2	1	5	8	3	1	6	3	1	...
	March ... ..	9	3	...	...	...	...	...	4	1	6	7	6	2	1	1	...
	April ... ..	18	5	...	1	...	...	...	...	3	22	4	3	4	1	2	...
	May ... ..	6	1	1	1	1	2	...	2	6	4	3	1	1	1	...	...
	June ... ..	11	5	2	...	...	1	...	1	4	8	1	3	1	1	...	...
	July ... ..	18	5	1	...	1	1	1	1	6	5	2	4	...	...	2	...
Total ... ..		173	60	18	3	7	10	5	17	35	38	50	11	37	17	9	2

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Hand in hand with general health of the community went public works. The first Town Committee chosen by Town Councillors, in accordance with Ordinance no.1 1854, made the Town Clerk responsible for the carrying out of public works. He in turn contracted out the various tasks and hired casual labourers. The Town Council appointed Robert Sellars Upton as Borough Surveyor on 23 January 1855, who in December 1856 took over from the Town Clerk the responsibility for carrying out public works.<sup>45</sup> Upton was succeeded by Henry Waddington in

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., 31 July 1900: Medical Officer's Report attached, pp.28-32. This classification of 593 registered European deaths (377 Males and 216 Females) in Durban in 1900 of which 241 (nearly half of this figure) point to a large European infant mortality among the European population of 27 425 alone.

<sup>45</sup> Lynsky, They Built A City, p.6.

1861 and William Robarts in 1877,<sup>46</sup> when an assistant was appointed. The responsibility for carrying out public works was included in their surveyor's duties. When Robarts returned to private practice in Durban and became Mayor from 1886 to 1887, Charles Richards was appointed Town Surveyor.<sup>47</sup>

Geography, which favoured the town of Durban economically because of its sea outlet which helped make it essentially a commercial centre, obviously contributed to many urban problems which posed a direct challenge to the Durban Town Council. Drainage efforts during these years, mostly effected in the congested central part of Durban where underground drainage was introduced (especially in the tidal swampy area of Pine Terrace),<sup>48</sup> were still only superficially done and did not really improve poor sanitation. The lower lying 'pestilential swamps'<sup>49</sup> of Durban remained a problem. Outbreaks of diseases such as dysentery, typhoid and typhus which were spread through water contamination, were identified as a problem, as well as the incidence of low malarial fever ('billious remittent fever') and bilharzia.<sup>50</sup>

The increasing need for proper drainage and waterworks led the Council to decide to call for the appointment of a qualified

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<sup>46</sup> Ibid., p.11.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., p.16.

<sup>48</sup> See Appendix V. See Bjorvig, 'History of the Durban Town Council 1854-1879', pp.58-9.

<sup>49</sup> Laidler and Gelfand, South Africa Its Medical History 1652-1898, pp.323-4.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

engineer. J.F.E. Barnes was duly appointed Borough Engineer and Government Surveyor on 17 January 1882, at a salary of £500 per annum. A Clerk and two permanent assistants were also appointed. The first Borough Engineer's Office was built at a cost of £193 7s 9d.<sup>51</sup> Barnes became more involved in schemes to augment Durban's water supply from the rivers than in drainage; however, his successor, John Fletcher, submitted, in August 1889,<sup>52</sup> a storm water drainage scheme to Mayor J.J. Hillier and his Council who gave it the go-ahead. This scheme provided for the kerbing and channelling of the principal macadamised roads in the central town area and on the Berea, such as Musgrave and Sydenham Roads and the construction of a few large underground drains, notably the Old Dutch Road underground culvert.<sup>53</sup> By the end of 1904 the sum of £81 000 had been expended on the works, comprising sixty-three and a quarter miles of kerbing and channelling and over seven miles of underground culverts. Storm water drainage had by then become an important and separate municipal undertaking.<sup>54</sup> Surface drainage was urged in Medical Officers' reports. For instance, in 1898 the Medical Officer, after having mapped the town out into seven districts, reported that

'the most thickly populated and the lowest lying are the most unhealthy. The Point, Town, and Greyville areas furnish by far the largest portion of these diseases.'<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> Lynsky, They Built a City, pp.16-18.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., p.26.

<sup>53</sup> Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1893: Borough Engineer's Report, pp. 19-32.

<sup>54</sup> Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1901, pp. 58-69; *ibid.*, 1904, pp. 70-93. See also: Henderson, Fifty Years, pp.289-90.

<sup>55</sup> Durban Mayor's Minute 1898: Attached Medical Officer's Report, pp.42-51.

The Medical Officer's report in 1904 announced the appearance of an epidemic of 'genuine Malaria'<sup>54</sup> during the first half of that year in those parts of town adjoining low lying and swampy ground, which

'constitutes the necessary breeding places for mosquitoes, which are the carriers of malarial infection from person to person.'<sup>57</sup>

The ruling elite responded by ordering the formation of a mosquito destruction brigade which sprayed pools and stagnant water. By the end of June that year the epidemic had died out. The character of the malarial attacks was, however, described by the Medical Officer as having been of a very mild type. Only in cases where the disease had been untreated or occurred conjointly with some other serious disease, such as consumption, diabetes, etc., did it prove fatal or even serious.<sup>58</sup> Eradication of the dreaded malarial mosquito was also achieved by improvements made to existing drains, such as Milne's Drain, the Racecourse drain and the subsoil drains that were part of Fletcher's stormwater drainage scheme, as well by reclamation (raising the ground level or reducing surface water) of the lower-lying swampy Eastern Vlei (stretching from the present Kings Park sports complex to Ordinance Road) and Western Vlei (from Congella to Greyville Racecourse) - each approximately 460 acres

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<sup>54</sup> Gelfand and Laidler, South Africa Its Medical History, pp.323-4, identified low malarial fever and bilharzia in the nineteenth century second to dysentery as the principal diseases of Natal.

<sup>57</sup> Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1904: Attached Medical Officer's Report, pp.70-93.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.; ibid., 31 July 1907, pp.172-3.

in extent.<sup>59</sup> Much of the latter was achieved in co-operation with the Natal Government, such as the filling up with sand (commenced in 1907) of the large expanse of low-lying and swampy ground west of the railway, adjoining the reclaimed area at the Congella Harbour Works. Very useful work was also done by the Sanitary Department in filling up such areas with household refuse, especially between Smith Street and Berea Road, between Lancers Road and the railway, as well as the Stamford Hill area (formerly large patches of swampy ground where mosquitoes continually bred).<sup>60</sup>

Another major urban problem which faced the Town Council and the Borough Engineer was undoubtedly the shortage of water. Excreta entering the ground made it unavoidable that water in some of the wells became polluted. Solving this problem brought a whole new technology which involved the first artesian well sunk at the foot of the Botanic Gardens by Mayor H.W. Currie in 1879. For the first time water was 'laid on'. Piping was led from Currie's Fountain to the central part of town.<sup>61</sup> Barnes urged the Durban Town Council to view the Currie's Fountain supply and extension as just a temporary measure, especially since it catered only for the central town area. He emphasized the need for a more permanent reservoir method of

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<sup>59</sup> See Lynsky, They Built A City, pp.33-4; Durban Mayor's Minutes, 31 July 1906, pp.10, 33, 46-7. In the estimates for the Municipal Year of 1906, the sum of £5 000 was provided for draining and filling in the area of low-lying land on the Western Vlei. See *ibid.*, 31 July 1907, p.173. In the Umgeni suburb operations were in progress to drain the whole of the Brickfields area.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 1907, pp. 9, 172-3.

<sup>61</sup> Bjorvig 'History of the Durban Town Council 1854-1879', pp.60-6. See T.E. Francis, 'The Influence of the Geology of Durban on the Supply of Water from Wells to Early Settlers', in Natalia, no.19-21, (1989), p.65.



water supply in the hinterland, which in turn necessitated protection and filtration. A new progressive period in the development of Durban's water supply began with tapping the rivers. Barnes submitted reports for supplying Durban with water from the Umlaas River at an estimated cost of £70 000, from the Umhlatuzana at £45 000, and from the Umbilo at £21 000.<sup>62</sup> In December Barnes handed over to Council an analytical report done after chemical examination, which favoured the quality of the Umbilo River. The Umbilo source was thus adopted by the Durban Town Council.<sup>63</sup> The Durban Corporation Waterworks Law of 1884 and the Durban Loan Law of 1884 authorized the Council to borrow £50 000 for the Waterworks.

The site selected for the Umbilo (better known as Pinetown) Waterworks was in a bend of the Umbilo River just above the Umbilo Falls.<sup>64</sup> The geographical situation of Durban near the coast with hills behind it would prove to be ideal as far as elevation for water supply was concerned (naturally running down), as well as waste disposal into the sea. The Umbilo Waterworks were formally opened on 21 July 1887 when the Mayoress (Mrs W.E. Robarts) turned on the fountain in the Town Gardens simultaneously to celebrate this achievement and the commemoration of the Jubilee of Her Majesty Queen Victoria.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> Lynsky, The Built a City, p.18; Henderson, Fifty Years, p.226.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., p.20.

<sup>64</sup> Henderson, Fifty Years, p.227.

<sup>65</sup> Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1887, pp. 2-7; Henderson, Fifty Years, p.231. The total outlay on this scheme, and additional expenditure on Currie's Fountain in 1887, was £46 834.

Daily use by householders and an increase in the demand for water for manufacturing purposes, the droughts in 1887 and particularly between 1888 and 1890, rendered it necessary that the Borough's water supply should be augmented from some other source. During the dry seasons of 1890 and 1891 the Umbilo supply was supplemented temporarily by pumping water into it through mains from the Umhlatuzana River. The first supply from the Umlaas River, after a temporary pumping plant was erected on the river, was pumped through mains into Durban on 31 July 1891. On this occasion the water was turned on by Sir Benjamin Greenacre.<sup>46</sup> The Borough Engineer, J.F. Fletcher, designed the Umlaas gravitation scheme in 1894 to shorten the distance between the water intake and the filter beds and augment the delivery of water by the construction of tunnels and conduits. Once permanent mains had been laid from town to connect with the gravitation works,<sup>47</sup> the official turning on of the taps of the Umlaas scheme took place. Councillor Ferguson, Chairman of the Water Supply Committee, did the honours on 13 December 1894.<sup>48</sup> Yet as late as 1898, the Medical Officer recommended Durbanites

'boil all water used for drinking purposes, and this is especially necessary in a town where Dysentery, Diarrhoea and Enteric Fever may be said to be endemic.'<sup>49</sup>

Clarification of the Umlaas water at the time of floods in the rainy

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<sup>46</sup> Ibid., p.235; Lynsky, They Built A City, p.26.

<sup>47</sup> Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1894, pp. 18-28; Henderson, Fifty Years, p.235.

<sup>48</sup> Lynsky, They Built A City, p.27.

<sup>49</sup> Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1898: Attached Medical Officer's Report, p.42. Laidler and Gelfand, South Africa: Its Medical History, pp.323-460, stressed that dysentery, the principal disease of early Natal, appeared especially after the rains.

season still posed a problem to the Borough Engineer. In 1898, Fletcher proposed the building of a large storage reservoir as a means of avoiding this difficulty and inconvenience when the river water was turbid.<sup>70</sup> The Town Council, also compelled by the population increase between 1897 and 1900, especially following the outbreak of the Anglo-Boer War, gave permission for the extension of the system of cast-iron distribution mains throughout the whole of Durban and the building of the recommended temporary dam at Camperdown on higher reaches of the Umlaas River.<sup>71</sup> The total water storage capacity in 1904 was as follows: the Umlaas Works, 656 million gallons; the Umbilo Works, 41 million gallons. Inside the Durban Borough there were nine additional service reservoirs possessing a total storage capacity of 8 450 000 gallons and two small pumping stations. The estimated revenue from water rates for the year 1904 was £19 569, and from the sale of water for manufacturing and other purposes £28 958.<sup>72</sup>

The bursting of the Pinetown Dam in 1905, following a rainfall of 17.65 inches in twenty-four hours, the highest recorded in Durban, caused havoc. Loss of life and destruction were suffered when millions of gallons of water were released at South Coast Junction (better known as Clairwood/Rossborough), where the Umhlatuzana and Umbilo Rivers met as they entered the Durban Bay.<sup>73</sup> The necessary

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<sup>70</sup> Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1898: Borough Engineer's Report, pp. 20-32.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, 31 July 1902, pp. 29-30; Henderson, Fifty Years, p.243; Lynsky, They Built a City, pp.30-3.

<sup>72</sup> Henderson, Fifty Years, pp.247-8.

<sup>73</sup> Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1905, pp. 1-2, 335-8.

urban policy to cope with natural disasters<sup>74</sup> had as yet not been formulated by the Town Council. The only decision made was that the Pinetown Dam would be used only as a secondary service reservoir after repairs had been done to it. Permission was obtained from the Natal Government in 1905 to increase the Town Council's borrowing powers to cover the construction of a permanent dam at Camperdown.<sup>75</sup> Work on the new reservoir at Camperdown was started in 1906.<sup>76</sup> The foundation of the retaining wall was laid in 1908.<sup>77</sup>

Sewerage facilities caused more difficulties and delay. The municipal area was unsewered during most of the nineteenth century. The conditions under which first night soil boxes for solid waste were introduced in 1864, followed by night soil buckets in 1875, both collected and emptied in the Western and Eastern Vleis,<sup>78</sup> gave ample opportunity for the spread of diseases. Enteric fever was attributed by the Medical Officer in 1898 to soil becoming saturated with organic matter. Such contaminated soil offered a suitable

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<sup>74</sup> Flood control measures for safety reasons, as in this case, had since become particularly relevant to future urban policies of local governments on a world-wide scale. See Urban Policies in Japan (A Review by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) Group on Urban Affairs undertaken in 1984/5 at the request of the Government of Japan, Paris, 1986), pp.1-10.

<sup>75</sup> Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1905, pp. 6-7, 34-5.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, 31 July 1906, pp. 5-6, 194-5. The passing of Act no.48, 1906 increased the borrowing powers of the Durban Town Council for sanitary improvements. See also: *ibid.*, 1909, p.39 for loan flotation and increased borrowing powers under Act 43, 1909 and *ibid.*, 1910, pp.10-11.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, 1908, p.43. See Lynsky, They Built a City, pp.42-3, on the building of the Shongweni Dam in 1917 by Fletcher's successor, Walter Campbell.

<sup>78</sup> Bjorvig, 'History of the Durban Town Council, 1854-1879', pp.81-98.

breeding ground for many of the disease-producing germs.<sup>79</sup> Liquid sewage was also still carried away in huge open drains connected with the underground sewers in the town, for example the Field Street drain, which finally discharged into the Bay.<sup>80</sup> Stench from such overflowing drains and connections of drains, despite being flushed every day, still overwhelmed the nostrils. Even the Mayor reported in 1890 that further improvements were necessary at the outlet of the drains on the Durban Bay End as the atmosphere there was 'rendered unmistakably and perceptibly impure.'<sup>81</sup>

Effective sewerage arrangements were initiated only by Fletcher's Sewerage scheme, which became operational by 1 July 1896,<sup>82</sup> and were then limited to the central part of Durban. Under this scheme sixty-one miles of sewers had been laid in Durban by 1904. Where night-soil pails in the suburbs were still used, with twice-a-week removal, these were taken to specially prepared places, and emptied into the sewer. Household slops (for vegetable matter), were removed by means of suitable tank carts, which conveyed the contents to some convenient manhole connected with the sewerage system. The contents were then allowed to run into the sewer by means of a hose-pipe

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<sup>79</sup> Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1898: Attached Medical Officer's Report, pp. 42-51.

<sup>80</sup> Bjorvig, 'History of the Durban Town Council, 1854-1879', p.58.

<sup>81</sup> Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1890, p.4.

<sup>82</sup> Bjorvig, 'History of the Durban Town Council, 1854-1879', pp.98-102; Durban Mayor's Minutes, 31 July 1890, pp. 2-6; *ibid.*, 1898, pp.22-32. The Natal Government had already passed the Main Sewerage Law no.20 of 1891 authorising the Durban Town Council to construct an outfall sewer along the North Pier and to install a refuse destructor, storage and screening tanks and all the necessary works in connection with it.

connected with the bottom of the tank.<sup>83</sup> Lavatories were provided throughout the town. In the central part of Durban there were two fitted structures with urinals, lavatories and toilet-rooms. One of the two built structures, the 'Temple of Hygiene' (as described in 1898 by Mayor Benjamin Greenacre in the annual Minute), the only 'ornamental feature' connected with the sewerage system, was 'the most recent and decorative domestic sanitation' and was situated in the underground conveniences in Gardiner Street.<sup>84</sup> The other, housed in the first Town Hall, opened in 1885 on part of the Market Square, and boasted the first Ladies lavatory on the ground and first floor.<sup>85</sup> For Africans and Indians there were thirty-one conveniences scattered through the town by 1904 and others were being erected for Whites and Coloureds.<sup>86</sup>

The scheme also called for waterborne household sewage to be discharged through a sealed main to the newly built Sewerage Outfall works at 'Bamboo Square' at the Point, which served Durban for many years. Sewage was screened and then discharged through the Outfall Main into the sea from the North Pier during the first few hours of the ebb tide.<sup>87</sup> The new method adopted for the disposal of sewage, went hand in hand with the improved supply of water tapped from the rivers. Proper sewerage required a large volume of water to dissolve

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<sup>83</sup> Henderson, Fifty Years, p.302.

<sup>84</sup> Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1898, pp. 42-51.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid., 31 July 1885, pp. 133-8.

<sup>86</sup> Henderson, Fifty Years, p.304.

<sup>87</sup> Lynsky, They Built a City, p.28; Henderson, Fifty Years, pp.284-5.

and carry, with the necessary plumbing, the solid constituent of sewage. Inventions such as the water closet, piped sink and piped bath, brought from England and installed in Durban, increased consumption of water. The Durban Town Council's revenue in turn was swelled by initiating a water rate, with meters to monitor consumption.<sup>88</sup> (The net profit for water in 1907 alone amounted to £15 926).<sup>89</sup>

Rubbish heaps were an unchecked and prominent nuisance in early Durban. The governing elite commenced with the removal of refuse in 1863 to a site in the bush at Congella.<sup>90</sup> The removal of decaying filth of all kinds from the neighbourhood has been in operation ever since. The work was carried out under contract till 1896. The Sanitary Department then took over the removal of rubbish, night-soil and slop water. The Council resolved in 1888 to discontinue the practice of burning rubbish for carbon (used to deodorize the night-soil pails).<sup>91</sup> Destructors were then erected at the Point, which consumed as much as possible by fire. In 1906 alone 65 153 cart and van loads of house rubbish, 20 604 cart and van loads of street sweepings and 17 137 tank loads of slop water were collected and removed by the Sanitary Department. A large proportion of the house rubbish and the whole of the street sweepings were used during the same year for filling in low-lying land at

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<sup>88</sup> Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1889, p. 28. Meters were read in the first week of every month by the Water Inspector and the Borough Engineer's Clerk, who forwarded the readings to the Town Office.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid., 31 July 1907, pp. 36-8.

<sup>90</sup> Bjorvig, 'History of the Durban Town Council, 1854-1879', pp.104-7.

<sup>91</sup> Henderson, Fifty Years, p.304.



certain places which had been levelled to prevent sand drift and promote vegetation. Covering the refuse with earth, as quickly as possible after being tipped, was found to be the most effective way of dealing with troublesome flies during the summer seasons.<sup>92</sup>

Some other nuisances were, for example, the droppings from horned animals and horses, a familiar sight even in the central part of town. The Durban Town Council reacted by distributing carbon deodorising matter from 1865 onwards and commented that slight improvements had been effected, although not as effective as the 'Government Disinfectant' introduced on a large scale from 1876.<sup>93</sup> Droppings in the streets and stable manure were also collected by the Town Council and sent to sugar estates by rail, as well as to those who made requests for it. A typical example was during 1906 when stable manure from some Brickhill Road premises was tipped by the owners into Victoria Park for use in top dressing and planting. Altogether 123 railway truck loads of stable manure were loaded and consigned to sugar estates and farmers during 1906.<sup>94</sup>

Great annoyance was from time to time caused by rotten cargoes of shipwrecks at Addington, especially when the dreadful stench was carried by an easterly wind. The Natal Government was called upon by the Durban Town Council to take effective steps in such situations.

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<sup>92</sup> Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1906, pp. 144-5; *ibid.*, 31 July 1907, p.188.

<sup>93</sup> Bjorvig, 'History of the Durban Town Council, 1854-1879', pp.107-113.

<sup>94</sup> Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1906, pp.144-5.

A typical case occurred in 1879 when the cargo of rotten mealies from the ship, 'Ziba' drifted ashore at Addington and the Government was called upon to remove this nuisance.<sup>95</sup>

The slaughter houses at Congella were the subject of bitter complaints. The Natal Mercury, voicing public opinion in 1874, described them as a 'centre of peril which were too near the town and too near a stagnant marsh', the Western Vlei. It was thought that their removal to another site would be well worth considering.<sup>96</sup> Despite Town Council recommendations of other appointed sites near the Eastern Vlei and at Addington, the Congella site remained the most popular. This was also the area where a start was made with the Durban Abattoir in 1913.<sup>97</sup> Further response from the Council included recommendations made to butchers to use carbolic acid as a disinfectant. Inspections of meat were regularly made by Sanitary Inspectors. By-laws armed them for their task, for example, when they had to give orders for the destruction of diseased cattle or to impose a fine.<sup>98</sup>

The opening of the new Stellawood cemetery<sup>99</sup> in the suburb of Umbilo in 1905 for future public burials, was an alternative solution

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<sup>95</sup> Natal Mercury, 7 May 1879; Bjorvig 'History of the Durban Town Council', pp.116-25.

<sup>96</sup> Natal Mercury, 12 February 1874; Bjorvig, 'History of the Durban Town Council 1854-1879', pp.107-13.

<sup>97</sup> Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1913, p. 12.

<sup>98</sup> Bjorvig, 'History of the Durban Town Council, 1854-1879', pp.107-13.

<sup>99</sup> Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1905, pp. 8-9, 130. See *ibid.*, 31 July 1906, p.146. The staff consisted of a Curator and 6 Indians.

to the health hazard posed by the general cemetery being too close to town.<sup>100</sup> From 1 November 1906, the latter was closed for burials, except for family grave sites.<sup>101</sup>

Durban's population swelled during the 2nd Anglo-Boer War on account of the arrival of refugees from the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, and the large influx of men connected with the movement of troops. Such growing congestion of people in Durban taxed the Durban environment heavily. The census taken in March 1900 gave the following returns.

Table 3

Europeans	...	27,425	}	Total Population	...	55,731
Indians	...	13,701				
Natives	...	14,605				

As compared with the census taken last July (1899) there is an increase of 14,472, made up as follows:—

Europeans	...	7,633	}	Total increase in nine months	...	14,472
Indians	...	4,139				
Natives	...	2,670				

102

The summer months, from October to March, were a notoriously unhealthy period. High death rates of 33.25 and 34.57 per 1 000 were reached in November and January, while in August, September and May, lower rates were recorded; 7.43, 14.00 and 13.12 respectively. (Table 4).<sup>103</sup>

<sup>100</sup> Ibid., 31 July 1903, pp.13-14.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid., 31 July 1907, pp.14-16, 145, 177. This was apart from the public mortuary housed in the general cemetery, which alone admitted 82 male and 18 female bodies of all races during 1907.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid., 31 July 1900: Attached Medical Officer's Report, pp.28-32.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid.

Table 4

The deaths were distributed during different months as follows :-

		Males.	Females.	Total.	Death- Rate.
1899	August	11	6	17	7.43
	September	18	14	32	14.00
	October	31	16	47	20.56
	November	44	32	76	33.25
	December	38	32	70	30.62
1900	January	51	28	79	34.57
	February	35	17	52	22.75
	March	22	18	40	17.50
	April	43	20	63	27.56
	May	23	7	30	13.12
	June	30	8	38	16.62
	July	31	18	49	21.41
		377	216	593	

The Medical Officer emphasised that the death rate among Europeans in general was 21.62 per 1 000 per annum, as compared with 17.07 for 1899, an apparent increase of 4.55.<sup>104</sup> He felt that a number of these diseased cases came down from the uplands of Natal, where enteric fever and dysentery were rife amongst the troops at the front. As no accurate record had been kept in such cases, many deaths resulting from insanitary conditions at parts distant from the town were included, so that in fact an accurate estimate of the death rate would more likely approach 17.07 (that of 1899) than the recorded 21.62 (the death-rate for 1900).<sup>105</sup> During the five years stretching from 1905 to 1910 as shown in Table 5 of 1910, a higher

<sup>104</sup> Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1900: Attached Medical Officer's Report, pp.28-32.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid.

death rate was recorded among Asiatics in comparison with Europeans and Africans. <sup>106</sup>

Table 5

1. TABLE SHOWING RACE AND SEX DISTRIBUTION OF DEATHS DURING THE PAST YEAR.

Race.	Male.	Female.	Total.
European .....	124	86	210
Native .....	63	25	88
Asiatic .....	150	118	274
Totals .....	343	229	572

2. TABLE SHOWING CHIEF STATISTICS OF DEATHS OF ALL RACES IN THE BOROUGH DURING THE PAST FIVE YEARS.

Race.	1905-06	1906-07	1907-08	1908-09	1909-10
European ...	357	284	280	254	210
Native ...	167	198	154	120	88
Asiatic ...	622	475	450	316	274
Totals ...	1,146	957	883	690	572
European rate per 1,000 ...	10.9	9.0	9.7	8.7	6.6
Native do. ...	8.5	8.5	9.8	7.5	5.3
Asiatic do. ...	37.9	29.7	29.0	21.0	17.0

The Medical Officer pointed out that the greatest decrease in the death rate had also been amongst the Asiatic population. Death rates there had fallen from 37.9 per 1 000 in 1905-06 to 17.0 per 1 000 that year, and he emphasised that in 1902 the Indian death rate of Durban was equal to 57.0 per 1 000 inhabitants per annum. The Protector of Indian Immigrants, according to the Medical Officer, had in his report for 1909,<sup>107</sup> given the death rate for Indian

<sup>106</sup> Ibid., 31 July 1910: Attached Medical Officer's Report, p. 115.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid., 31 July 1909, pp.98-113.

Immigrants throughout Natal as being equal to 15.28 per 1 000 of such inhabitants.<sup>108</sup> Amongst Europeans during those years from 1905-1910, the death rate had decreased from 10.7 to 5.4 per 1 000 resulting in 'a reduction of slightly over 50 per cent. of the combined total deaths of all races.'<sup>109</sup> The Durban Medical Officer attributed the diminution of the death-rate to the more effective steps taken to combat enteric fever and dysentery.<sup>110</sup> The figure for the death rate of African inhabitants of Durban was not a true reflection of their mortality and was explained by the Medical Officer as follows:

'When a Native becomes ill he prefers to return to his kraal and get treated by and amongst his friends - the offer of hospital treatment is not readily accepted.'<sup>111</sup>

Many of the African deaths occurring in Durban were without a doubt the result of the inability of the patient to get away to his home. The Colonial Health Officer stated in his report for 1909 (according to the Medical Officer) that the general African death rate for the Colony of Natal was 17.37 per 1 000 per annum of the African population.<sup>112</sup> In Durban for the period 1909-1910, the death rate was recorded as 5.4 per 1 000 of the African population of the Borough. It is to be noticed that out of a total of 88 deaths in 1909, 15 were deaths from accidents and 10 were still-births, these two causes alone accounting for over 30 per cent of the total African deaths, and of course in these cases return to their homes was impossible. The Medical Officer further pointed out that as far as

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<sup>108</sup> Ibid.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid., 31 July 1910, pp. 126, 131.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid., p.132.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid.

the African population of Durban was concerned, a glance at its sex distribution was sufficient to show its unnatural composition. Out of a total African population of 16 489 in 1910, there were 15 674 males and 815 females, which was in stark contrast to the European population of the same year of 29 836, where there were 15 535 males and 14 301 females (See Table 6 below). <sup>113</sup>

SHOWING THE POPULATIONS ACCORDING TO  
WARD DISTRIBUTIONS OF THE DIFFERENT RACES.

Ward.	Acreage.	Europeans.		Mixed and others Coloured.		Asiatics.		Natives.		TOTALS.	
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1	270	2067	1210	80	51	1446	584	4320	73	7913	2418
2	2100	2300	1833	103	107	485	289	1738	69	4626	2298
3	583	2960	2938	87	132	208	69	1873	81	5128	3220
4	310	1311	863	457	490	2856	1321	1833	144	6457	2818
5	1120	2831	3007	100	116	542	308	1920	152	5393	3583
6	1630	1355	1126	100	84	4490	2914	2588	194	8533	4318
7	910	2711	2824	63	69	386	233	1402	102	4562	3228
	6923	15,535	14,301	990	1,049	10,413	5,718	15,674	815	42,612	21,883
		29,836		2,039		16,131		16,489		64,495	
		31,875									

It will be noticed in the above table relating to Europeans that the numbers of Males and Females fairly closely approximate. At the general Census in 1904 the numbers were:—

Males ..... 10,886  
Females ..... 13,396

The "Mixed and others, Coloured," referred to in these returns consist of Mauritians, St. Helenas, etc.,

These statistics showed that

'the Native is only a temporary inhabitant of this Borough and from reliable information the average length of this temporary residence is under, rather than over, six months. There is naturally, however, a native population constantly maintained in the Borough by such temporary sojourners.' <sup>114</sup>

<sup>113</sup> Ibid., 31 July 1910, p.131.



The Durban Medical Officer further explained that with a steady and considerable diminution in the total number of deaths per annum in Durban 'after 1902 one naturally inquired first whether there had been any considerable diminution in its population. Durban probably reached its highest population in the colonial period at about the end of 1903. From that time it decreased rapidly for two or three years and much more slowly subsequently. This decrease apparently continued till 12 per cent of the total population by 1910 had left. His opinion was that this exodus was proportionately shared by all races in Durban and that it 'does not proportionately account for the reduction of numbers of deaths and death rates.' <sup>115</sup> To him the real reasons were, as follows:

'The vast improvements and extensions in Municipal works bearing on Public Health; a higher standard of general sanitation throughout the Borough; and the maintenance of better hygienic conditions in and around human habitations and places of work. Of recent years there has obtained a higher standard of domestic dwellings and corresponding increase of social conditions together with the elimination from the Borough of two such well recognised filth diseases as Enteric and Dysentery. The condition of Durban compared even with that of six or seven years ago has become now much more settled and consolidated, and at least the European population may be regarded as consisting of persons permanently domiciled. I am also inclined to believe that the recent commercial depression resulting in many cases in reduced incomes has been the means of compelling many families to live a simpler life so far as food and drink are concerned, and has not been without its good effect.' <sup>116</sup>

The population of the first decade of the twentieth century was from such a description obviously a more settled population. The effectiveness of sanitary measures taken by the Durban Town Council could be gauged by the fact that with the natural increase of the population of Durban for 1909-1910, there was a much higher figure

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<sup>115</sup> Ibid., p.132.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid.

of 854 births over 210 deaths among the White population. This could be indicative of better public health control than in the previous century. It was obvious that past experience in health matters had also led the Durban Town Council to obtain additional Public Health and Sanitary Powers by the Municipal Corporations' Law Amendment Ordinance which came into effect in 1911,<sup>117</sup> indicative of the ongoing process of sanitary improvements in the post-colonial period.<sup>118</sup> As the Medical Officer pointed out in his report to the Durban Town Council:

'It is essential to keep in mind that one half of the total population of this Borough consists of Natives and Indians, and as the weakest link of any chain determines its strength, so the health of the European population depends to a considerable extent on the health and sanitary conditions of those with whom they are brought into contact.'<sup>119</sup>

He maybe pricked the conscience of the Durban Town Council and other large employers of labour such as the Natal Government by emphasising that the large Sugar Estates and Colliery proprietors in Natal, probably looking from the economic standpoint rather than that of health, had recognised that better housing accommodation increased the amount and quality of labour of their employees. They had accordingly commenced the erection of housing accommodation for their employees 'of such a character as to set an example to other

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<sup>117</sup> Ibid., 31 July 1911, pp.149-95.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid. This law allowed the Durban Town Council to make by-laws with respect to the class and character of future buildings; wider powers for controlling foodstuffs, and more particularly for the examination of all foods whether fit or unfit for human consumption; to restrict the number of animals to be kept in the Borough; gave them powers for dealing with Hairdressers' and Barbers' premises, to ensure protection of customers from inoculation of cutaneous or other diseases; extended powers as to ensuring the proper cleanliness and ventilation of premises, buildings, or rooms, and several other highly useful provisions relating to sanitary efficiency.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid., p.195.

employers.<sup>120</sup>

The increasing competence of colonial Durban society, both in terms of knowledge as well as organization, in dealing with the kind of social disorganization which it generated, has nevertheless to be appreciated as an outcome of the process of industrialization. The Durban Town Council, as a relatively new institution, was part and parcel of such organization. The governing settler elite appointed to these top positions had to find new means of controlling the growth of the city. This led to the appointment of new occupational roles such as civil engineers, sanitary inspectors and medical officers to check on hazards caused by population congestion and to advise the leaders of society accordingly of effective methods of dealing with these problems. Breakdown in the man-made environment, brought about by industrial urbanization, manifested itself in rates of mortality and morbidity which had to be ameliorated. Growing knowledge of keeping germs at bay brought about awareness of how essential was cleanliness, whether of body, food, water, air, or soil. This in turn led to the development and introduction of new metropolitan technologies, such as piping, pumps, taps, baths and toilets. Also included were previously mentioned technological innovations such as new energy systems (steam-power, electricity), and, in the twentieth century, the internal combustion engine. All such developments, both in organization and knowledge, were reflected in the institutions and socio-spatial structure of the colonial city of Durban and modified the natural environment. In this sense, Durban, both in its functioning as well as its lay-out, represented a dependent, technological appendage of a Western industrial state.

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<sup>120</sup> Ibid.

### Conclusion

The history of the colonial city of Durban, mainly from its foundation in 1854,<sup>1</sup> when it acquired town status with its own Town Council, to Union in 1910, has been investigated in terms of a distinct model of urbanization within a colonial context. Essential to the explanation of the colonial city model is a conceptual framework employing three heuristic aids or variables, which are briefly summarised as culture, technology and the power structure of colonialism.<sup>2</sup> The term 'colonialism' refers to that form of inter-group domination in which settlers in significant numbers migrated permanently to the colony from the colonizing power.<sup>3</sup> In this case a specific group of approximately four to five thousand British settlers emigrated permanently from Britain to the Colony of Natal between 1849-1851. The majority of these transplanted British families occupied the chosen geographical sites of Durban and Pietermaritzburg and gave impetus to the process of urbanization. While it must be conceded that there is a danger, inherent in any study, of exaggerating the historical significance of one's subject, it is the contention of this thesis that the role played by the leading segment of this British society in Durban's urban development between 1854 and 1910, has not yet been accorded the recognition which it deserves. The governing settler elite overcame the odds with which they were confronted in early Durban and modified the African environment to suit the form or 'level' of social, political, economic and technological organization and development with which they were familiar. Durban, in other words, as a British colonial

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<sup>1</sup> Natal Mercury, 8 March 1854: Proclamation.

<sup>2</sup> King, Colonial Urban Development, p.34.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p.17.

city in Africa, came to mirror in its form and function contemporary urban arrangements in the mother country. The particular cultural values of Durban settler society are thus to be understood as Western or more specifically, as 'British'. These values combined with Western technology to allow the British settlers to build a rapidly developing city based upon the principles of the industrial revolution and modern industrial capitalism.

The theoretical framework to the thesis, mainly presented in Chapters 1-3, has been an attempt to explain the concept of social stratification and the nature of an elite, as well as to provide a specific context in which to approach these phenomena. The formation of a settler elite has been analysed and a study of thirty-five Mayors employed to typify those settlers of influence who were responsible for the form taken by the colonial city of Durban. The nature of a power structure was examined and used as an heuristic aid in studying the structure of Durban colonial society. Chapter 4 described the physical-spatial environment created by the governing British sector of Durban society and its relevance to the study of the structure of colonial society. Chapter 5 examined how the structure of the city related to the institutional system of the culturally dominant British-style elite. The methodology discussed at the beginning of Chapter 6 suggested how technology could also be used as an heuristic aid in studying the urban structure of colonial Durban. Chapters 6 to 9 were an elaboration of Chapters 4 and 5 and provided a more detailed description of some of the basic elements of colonial urban development, namely harbour improvements, railways, tramways, electricity, telephones and sanitary improvements. The

significant role played by the governing settler elite in these developments was underscored. This elite's self-interest and enterprise in the building of the colonial city of Durban were mirrored in its embryonic public services. Durban's energetic businessmen or merchants, operating in a colonial context, and representative of an urban upper middle class with economic, social and political power concentrated in their hands, possessed the favourite Victorian virtues of self-help and assertiveness and employed these to get ahead as individuals and also to end the physical isolation of their young colony. They were aware of Durban's favourable geographical situation as a midpoint of trade-routes. Like the Cape merchants, they were 'primarily interested in securing an independent niche'<sup>4</sup> for Natal in the Imperial structure, 'quite apart from pursuing an expansive policy on the African continent.'<sup>5</sup>

The economic opportunities there for the taking forced to the surface problems of relations between class and race.<sup>6</sup> The influential settler elite in the 'rise of multi-racial Durban'<sup>7</sup> initiated a

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<sup>4</sup> Le Cordeur, 'The Relations between the Cape and Natal 1846-1879', p.11.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., pp.8-9.

<sup>6</sup> Christopher Saunders, The Making of the South African Past (Cape Town: David Philip, 1988), p.1, wrote that historians have viewed the South African past 'through the prism of race and class.'

<sup>7</sup> Swanson, 'The Rise of Multi-racial Durban', pp.418-33, provided insight into the self-interest of the dominating sector in Durban society as reflected in this economic struggle and in their policies towards other races. See Swanson, 'The Sanitation Syndrome: Bubonic Plague and Urban Native Policy in the Cape Colony 1900-1909', pp.387-410. See Paul Maylam, 'The Evolution of Urban Apartheid Influx Control and Segregation: in Durban, c.1900-1951', in Bill Guest and John M. Sellers (eds.), Receded Tides of Empire (Pietermaritzburg, University of Natal Press, 1994), pp.262-5.

monopoly system. Measures were taken to safeguard profitable economic opportunities for themselves such as in African beer sales and African eating houses (mentioned in Chapter 2) and in their municipalisation of certain services such as tramways, telephones and electricity (dealt with in Chapter 8), as well as in their control of the Durban environment through sanitary improvements. Such application of political force by the governing settler elite to municipal life was probably best reflected in their 'improving' policy in the last quarter of the nineteenth and first decade of the twentieth century. During this time much was achieved, though not without the city's financial borrowing reaching an unprecedented peak.<sup>8</sup> Concrete and beneficial projects included the building of impressive public offices housed in the first Town Hall (1885)<sup>9</sup> and the erection of a second City Hall (1910),<sup>10</sup> as well as the installation of electricity, sewerage and water works, an urban public transport network, and a telephone system. These improvements to the fabric and amenities of the city all reflected the ethos, drive and power of the dominant sector of the settler elite.

The distinctive settler social, political and economic principles and institutions which manifested themselves in urban form in the colonial Durban environment inevitably set a pattern for the city's post-colonial developments. However, the scope of this study was strictly limited to the colonial period itself and concerned itself primarily with analysis of the colonial expression and implementation of metropolitan British culture in Durban. The formation of a

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<sup>8</sup> Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1906; *ibid.*, 31 July 1909, p.39; *ibid.*, 31 July 1910, pp.10-11.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 31 July 1885, pp.133-8.



colonial settler elite and its vigorous role in establishing and developing a British colonial city in Africa has been identified, appreciated and respected. The study, which drew when appropriate on the related disciplines of history, anthropology, sociology, urban geography and environmental studies, will, it is hoped, have filled a particular gap in the growing body of research being carried out on the urban settlement of colonial Durban.

### Note on Sources

As the Bibliography which follows indicates, the writing of this thesis has been based upon a variety of sources. Primary material has been obtained from the Natal Archives Depot, Natal University Library, and the Natal Society Library in Pietermaritzburg, and from the Local History Museum, Don Africana Library, and the Killie Campbell African Library in Durban. Considerable use has been made of secondary sources, for example, Anthony Douglas King's Colonial Urban Development: Culture, Social Power and Environment (1976) and King's 'Colonial Cities: Global Pivots of Change', in R. Ross and J. Telkamp (eds), Colonial Cities: Essays on Urbanism in a Colonial Context (1985). These sources provided the necessary theoretical framework for placing the colonial city of Durban within the historical context of colonial cities worldwide.

Max Weber's interpretative sociology in Max Weber, Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich (eds), Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretative Sociology (1978) in two parts, has been a key element in the research. Weber's two short sketches in Part One on social stratification together provided the basis for a modern theory of social stratification, which the author has found to have applicability within a colonial settler situation. The analysis of structured inequality in the colonial setting of Durban, where different races and civilizations met, was discussed in terms of the Weberian concept of stratification which has become fundamental to non-Marxist analysis. Books, for example, of a leading British scholar like Thomas Burton Bottomore, Classes in Modern Society (1965) and Elites and Society (1966) and those of an American leader like Leonard Beeghley, Social Stratification in America: A Critical Analysis of Theory and Research (1978) and The Structure of Social Stratification in the United States (1989) in the field of modern

research on sociological analysis of American society, were the most helpful secondary sources in providing a broad background for the study in question.

Contemporary comment disclosed in official printed sources, namely the Durban Mayor's Minutes, which appeared from 1855 on an annual basis, have been most informative. Regrettably, only copies of Durban Mayor's Minutes are in existence. The most complete copies are to be found in the Durban Local History Museum. Much of the data recorded in these Minutes was summarized by W.P.M. Henderson in Durban: Fifty Years Municipal History 1854-1904. This contemporary source, written to celebrate the Jubilee of the Durban Borough in 1904, has served as the blueprint for early Durban's municipal history. Unofficial contemporary printed sources, particularly the Durban newspapers, the Natal Mercury and Daily News, are sources which illuminated every facet of life in the Durban community and have therefore been extensively used. George Russell's History of Old Durban (1898), and J. Forsyth Ingram's The Story of an African Seaport (1899), were among many other contemporary sources consulted for a general account of the early days of the town.

Later printed sources with a more analytical approach to Durban were Ronald Davies, 'The Growth of the Durban Metropolitan Area' (1963), and L. Kuper, Hilstan Watts & R. Davies, Durban: a Study in Racial Ecology (1958). Also a more recent account was by Paul Maylam, 'The Evolution of Urban Apartheid Influx Control and Segregation: in Durban, c.1900-1951', in Bill Guest and Peter Sellers (eds), Receded Tides of Empire (1994). For the most detailed account of the social history of some early British settlers to Natal the six volumes published so far of Sheila O'Byrne Spencer, The British Settlers (1969-1992), were consulted. More general accounts were found in the

Dictionary of South African Biography (1968-1990); in contemporary publications, for example, the Natal Who's Who: An Illustrated Biographical Sketch Book of Natalians (1906) and Twentieth Century Impressions of Natal, its People, Commerce, Industries and Resources (1906), and in particular Alan Hattersley's numerous later publications.

Of the various theses consulted, the most pertinent to the subject under investigation were the unpublished doctoral thesis (1965) by Maynard Swanson, 'The Asiatic Menace': Creating Segregation in Durban, 1870-1900', and a conference paper, 'Reflections on the Urban History of South Africa: Some Problems and Possibilities, with Special Reference to Durban' (1968). Basil Alexander Le Cordeur's doctoral thesis, 'The Relations between the Cape and Natal, 1846-1879' (1962), and Paul La Hausse's, 'The Struggle for the City: Alcohol, the Ematsheni and Popular Culture in Durban, 1902-1936' (1984), also contributed to the research.

Essential for finding indications of material wealth of Durban Mayors in office between 1854 and 1910 were the Master of the Supreme Court, Pietermaritzburg, Estates, mainly housed in the Natal Archives Depot, Pietermaritzburg. The MSCE Series consists of wills, inventories and appraisements. If a person died intestate, an inventory of all effects immovable and movable was compiled in the valuation. An inventory of a testate estate was sometimes taken as well. In those cases no valuation was normally given. Most informative in the research for material wealth were also valuation lists of property, which appeared in unofficial contemporary printed sources like the Natal Mercury, and in official printed sources like the Natal Government Gazette. Jury lists, voters' lists and rolls in the Natal Government Gazette, as well as business or trade directories in the

Natal Almanac, Directory and Yearly Register, contained alphabetical lists of early Durban inhabitants with their addresses and occupations. Such directories were to a certain extent unreliable, since the basis upon which they were compiled is not easy to establish, but still proved a valuable reference tool. Comparison with census data proved to be an effective method of assessing the reliability of directories. (See the examples which appear in Appendix A: Tables 1 & 2 and Appendix B: Tables 3 & 4). Other limitations of these directories were that only heads of households were recorded and not inhabitants in general, and that neither domestics nor the members of other races were reflected apart from a few Indian businessmen and skilled workers. Through entering data from street listings in these directories it was possible to obtain an overview of the occupations of early White Durbanites, and to make suggested distinctions between the various gradings of non-manual and manual occupations. Helpful reading of later printed sources in this regard was found in The International Standard Classification of Occupations (1968) and the publications by John H. Goldthorpe and Keith Hope, The Social Grading of Occupations: A New Approach and Scale (1974), and by John H. Goldthorpe, Social Mobility and Class Structure in Modern Britain (1980). The possibilities of computerized data sorting are endless and open up hitherto unexplored avenues for future urban historians. Streets, indexed to reflect sparsity and density of occupations, is but one example of many other such possibilities.

Unpublished official papers relevant to the study of the history of the Natal Railways were the Minute Books of the Natal Railway Company which gave valuable insight into the formation and workings of this important undertaking between 1859 and 1877. Unfortunately, the N.G.R. Minute Book covering the period 25 September 1877 to 1878

1873 has been accidentally destroyed by fire. Newspapers, and advertisements in particular, were rich in material relating to notices of directors' or shareholders' meetings, or to special outings by train and relevant time-tables. The Durban Mayor's Minutes covered agreements between the Natal Government and the Durban Town Council regarding the central railway station, railway line deviations and overhead bridges in Durban. Contemporary railway guides were also very illuminating, for example, J. Forsyth Ingram, The Colony of Natal: An Official Illustrated Handbook and Railway Guide (1895), C.W. Harrison, Natal: An Illustrated Official Railway Guide and Handbook of General Information (1903), and A.H. Tatlow, Natal Descriptive Guide and Official Handbook (1911). Of the various later printed sources, the most helpful unpublished theses consulted were the M.A. thesis by Grace Ada Secretan Cox, 'Railway Development between Durban and Pietermaritzburg, 1865-1880' (1979), and a B.A. (Hons.) essay by E.H. Frangenheim, 'A Short History of the Natal Railway Company, 1859-1877, and Early Railway Schemes in Natal' (1973). Published works, for example Hein Heydenrych and Bruno Martin, The Natal Main Line Story (1992), Heydenrych, 'Railway Development in Natal to 1895', in Bill Guest and Peter Sellers (eds), Enterprise and Exploitation in a Victorian Colony (1985), and Heydenrych and Paula A. du Plooy, 'Railway Development in Natal 1910-1929', in Bill Guest and Peter Sellers (eds), Receded Tides of Empire (1994), gave a more critical appraisal of the growth of the Natal railways through the various stages than did Edward Donald Campbell, The Birth and Development of the Natal Railways (1951). O.S.N. Nock, Railways of the World: Railways of Southern Africa (1971), placed the Natal railways within a wider context, and the study of railway stations, for example, made by Jeffrey Richards and John M. MacKenzie, The Railway Station: A Social History (1986), suggested a fresh approach to appreciating the

meeting-places.

The Natal Government Gazettes, spanning the colonial period from 1849 to 1910, unquestionably provided the best source of information concerning general legislation applicable to Natal, whether debated or promulgated. Other official printed sources consulted for ordinances, laws and proclamations were Charles Fitzwilliam Cadiz, Ordinances, Laws and Proclamations of Natal, 1843-1870, which appeared in two volumes in 1879; Borough of Durban, Port Natal: Rules of Order of the Town Council with the Laws, Ordinances, By-laws and Proclamations affecting the Borough of Durban (1881), as well as R.L. Hitchins and G.W. Sweeney, Laws, By-laws and Regulations of the Borough of Durban (1898).

Essential reading on early Durban's urban public transportation network was a photostat copy in the Natal University Library, Pietermaritzburg, of the unpublished thesis by D. Heron, 'Urban Passenger Transportation with Special Reference to the Development of Durban' (1947). It gave a descriptive survey of public passenger transportation by tramway, omnibus and trolleybus. A shorter account also appeared in 1978 by W. Thornhill, 'General Outline of Development of Passenger Transport in Durban'. Official printed sources, the Durban Mayor's Minutes and Natal Government Gazettes, as well as unofficial contemporary sources, the Natal Mercury and Daily News, also provided further valuable insight into the lay-out and workings of this undertaking, as mainly stipulated by agreements made between the Durban Town Council and the Company Directors and approved by the Natal Government.

Valuable information was obtained from manuscript sources for matters relating to Durban's urban public transportation network.



period. Such information was mainly contained in unpublished official papers, namely correspondence to and from the Colonial Secretary's Office (CSO), Minister of Justice and Public Works Minute Papers, Natal Harbour Department Minutes of Meetings, Harbour Board Reports and Chairman's Minutes, Correspondence from the Prime Minister's Office (PM), and despatches sent to and from the Colonial Secretary of State in the Government House Records (GH). Durban Mayor's Minutes, the Natal Mercury, and Daily News, and Natal Government Gazettes also provided important reference material on the harbour. Natal Blue Books (NBB) and Statistical Year Books, as well as the Natal Almanac, Directory and Yearly Registers, were more informative on figures, such as those regarding imports and exports from Durban harbour. Much of such statistical data has been absorbed in later printed sources, for example, by O.P.F. Horwood (ed.), 'The Port of Durban', NRS, 15, (Durban, Department of Economics, University of Natal, 1969) and is for the first time graphically displayed in this thesis. Lucille Heydenrych, 'Port Natal Harbour, c.1850-1897', in Bill Guest and John M. Sellers (eds), Enterprise and Exploitation in a Victorian Colony (1985), as well as her unpublished doctoral thesis, 'Die Geskiedenis van Fort Natal-Hawe 1845-1897' (1990), and the unpublished B.A. (Hons.) essay of E.G. Hobson, 'The Effect of Durban Harbour on Natal's Politics, 1874-1898' (1961), were consulted. Later printed newspapers and periodicals also provided valuable information.

Much information on British applied technology which reached Durban, for example, electricity, telephones, and sanitary improvements such as water supply, sewerage, drainage, and medical care, were recorded first-hand in Durban Mayor's Minutes, as well as in the Natal Mercury and Daily News. Negotiations with the Natal Government for loan applications were also recorded, and the end result, when locally

processed, appeared in the Natal Government Gazettes and as appendices attached to Mayor's Minutes. Second-hand summarized versions appeared in the well-known contemporary source, already mentioned, W.P.M. Henderson's Fifty Years of Municipal History.

Considerable use has been made of contemporary maps, surveys, diagrams, plans and charts of early Durban, as well as pictorial evidence, for example, illustrations listed at the beginning of the thesis. These were mainly obtained from Durban Local History Museum, Natal Archives Depot, and Government Surveyor's Office, Pietermaritzburg, as indicated in the Bibliography which follows.

Only the sources consulted and referred to directly in the text or footnotes have been listed in the Bibliography.

### Bibliography

List of categories into which the bibliography is divided:

- I) Manuscript Sources
  - i) Private Papers
  - ii) Unpublished Official Papers
- II) Official Printed Sources
- III) Unofficial Contemporary Printed Sources
  - i) Newspapers and Almanacs
  - ii) Books: General Accounts; Autobiographies; Memoirs; Reminiscences
- IV) Later Edited Annotated and Printed Contemporary Sources
- V) Later Printed Sources
  - i) Bibliographies, bibliographical guides and atlases
  - ii) Articles
  - iii) Pamphlets
  - iv) Books
  - v) Unpublished Theses and Workshop Papers
- VI) Oral Evidence
- VII) Maps
- VIII) Pictorial Evidence
  - i) Illustrations

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#### VII) Maps

##### a) Local History Museum, Durban:

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Inclusive Diagram of N.G.R. Railway Deviation 1888.

Inclusive: Plan of Durban Ward Divisions, 1906: Durban Borough Engineer, J. Fletcher/Reclamation of Eastern/Western Vleis, 1906: J. Fletcher/Proposed Tramway Extensions, 1904: J. Fletcher.

Files 547-54797: Railways, Harbours, Bridges and Engineering:

Breakwater (Pier) Schemes 1850-1910 contained in miscellaneous correspondence between the Colonial Engineer and Natal Government.

b) Natal Archives Depot, Pietermaritzburg

Map of the Town of Durban and Its Environs: Colony of Natal 1894 by  
Frank Maynard, 1894.

c) Government Surveyor's Office, Pietermaritzburg

True Copy of Original Diagram of Town Lands of Durban, 1846, as  
undersigned by the Government Surveyor, Thomas Okes, 1855, and  
again endorsed by the Surveyor, W. Robarts, 1879.

VIII) Pictorial Evidence

a) Durban Local History Museum

Selective use made from some of the following visual data collection:

File 470: Topography General.

Files 474-47411: Streets, Roads, Corners, Arcades, Passages, etc.

Files 540-549: Architectural General.

Files 5432: Hospitals

Files 54563: Libraries and Museums

Files 547-54797: Railways, Harbours, Bridges and Engineering.

Files 548-5489: Statues and Monuments.

Files 554.1: Borough Police

Files 55751-557527: Durban Trams (Horsedrawn to Electrical),

Time-tables and Tickets to Construction of Tram Lines.

Files 5578-55782: Telephones, Exchanges to Laying of Cables.

File 572133: 581 A-2: Biographical (Durban Mayors/Superintendents).

File 609234: Mixed Groups and Portraits.

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Natal Pictorial Mercury 1905-1922.

Selective use made from some of the following photo collection:

C 1206-5903.

## Appendix A

A Four-class Model for Colonial Durban Society.

(The choice of occupational grading units in the construction of the typology applicable to colonial Durban society's urban economic hierarchy, was adapted from The International Standard Classification of Occupations (Isco), (Revised Edition, Geneva: International Labour Officer, 1968), pp.25-33. Also Max Weber's class dimension was borne in mind, as well as the Hope-Goldthorpe seven and elevenfold schemas in John H. Goldthorpe and Keith Hope The Social Grading of Occupations: A New Approach and Scale (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974); John H. Goldthorpe Social Mobility and Class Structure in Modern Britain (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), pp.38-67. Goldthorpe and Hope followed the same procedures as the OPCS in coding all members of the major professions to the same category, though for socio-economic groupings distinguished between employees (the salaried) and self-employed).

1. Upper middle class/stratum (Non-manual skills)

i) Substantial owners and controllers of material production in the colonial Durban context.

Merchants

Shipowners

Industrial/agricultural entrepreneurs (Farmers/Planters)

Bankers

Gentleman (Occupationally listed as such in records with either property or presumably assets safeguarding income.)

ii) Professionals (mostly self-employed)

Accountants

Advocates/Attorneys/Solicitors

Architects

Medical Practitioners (Doctors/Dentists/Veterinary Surgeons)

Pharmacists/Chemists/Druggists

Civil Engineers (Marginal for other engineers.)

iii) Along with the above were a smaller number of leaders from the public sector. They fell in their top rung of the occupational ladder in the highest and most privileged wage-earning bracket and in addition could also have acquired sizeable personal fortunes or business holdings. This category would include:

Higher graded professionals/some semi-professional (mostly salaried)

Civil service executive officers (Governor/Attorney-General/

Secretary for Native Affairs/Colonial Treasurer

Jurists (Chief Justice/First Puisine Judge/Second Puisine

Judge/Judge to Native High Court)

Surveyor-General

Colonial Engineer

Colonial Secretary

Clergy - Archdeacon/Catholic Bishop & Priest/Colonial Chaplain

Military/Naval - highest ranking officers

Resident Magistrate

## 2. Intermediate (middle/middling) stratum

This grouping was considered marginal on account of their limited powers of ownership and were distinguished primarily by their access to special education, training or other credentials. Higher salaries were earned (with exception to Clergy) in relation to other non-manual clerical and related workers in the intermediate grouping.

i) Lower graded non-manual professionals/semi-professionals

School masters - Primary & Secondary Headmasters and Teachers

Authors/Editors/Printers/Publishers

Curators

Archivists/Librarians

Social welfare workers

Ship's Officers & Pilots/Port Captain

Producers/Composers - Performing Arts



Optician

Parochial Clergy (paid by Church)

Surveyors

Engineers

Agents.

Bank Managers

Diplomatic Agents/Consuls (paid by foreign governments and not professional in the colonial setting, but influential as representative agents for fostering foreign trading links.)

Entertainers/Artists

Journalists/Reporter

#### ii) The petty bourgeoisie

(Some of the petty bourgeoisie were small-scale 'independents' (self-employed) such as small proprietors who had direct ownership of their own capital. The salaried enjoyed mostly higher levels of income than routine non-manual/clerical and related workers and constituted a kind of white-collar elite in the intermediate grouping.)

#### Civil service officials:

Registrar of Births/Deaths/Marriages)

Protector of Immigrants

Controller of Excise

Collector/Receiver (Customs)

Superintendent/General Manager - Transport (Railways)/Education/

Superintendent of Police/Goal/Medical

Sheriff

Clerk of the Peace

Notary Public

#### Town Government officials:

Town Clerk

Public Health Inspectors

Protective (Police/Fire and Detectives/Army (Defence)  
members)

Small proprietors:

Hoteliers; Boarding Housekeepers; Restaurateurs (Eating Houses)  
Launderers  
Storekeepers  
Undertakers  
Artists (Musicians)  
Builders (Houses)  
Self-employed Farmers/Fisherman and Hunters

Managers of businesses:

Manufacturing/construction/commerce  
Insurance, Real Estate & Business Services Salesmen, Agents  
Auctioneers  
Commercial Travellers and Manufacturers' Agents

iii) Routine non-manual/clerical and related workers

(These were subordinate positions with relatively low levels of  
income and constitute a kind of white-collar labour-force.)

Bookkeepers and Cashiers  
Bank Tellers  
Railway Station Masters and Conductors  
Post Master  
Market Master  
Wharfmaster  
Telephone and Telegraph Operators  
Office-Machine Operators (Typists)  
Clerks  
Translators/Interpreters  
Matron/Nurse  
Company Secretaries

Salesmen

Receptionists

### 3. Low class/stratum (Manual and less well educated)

This category consisted of employed or self-employed workers.

Self-employed workers enjoyed a higher rating than most employees, whose jobs were insecure and who were subject to the authority of others. The self-employed could prosper so much as to employ others to do their manual work and move up the occupational ladder to attain intermediate class status.

Higher rating was also awarded to the 'Skilled/semi-skilled'.

The dividing line between \*skilled & semi-skilled is difficult to define and has not been attempted.

\* To Leonard Beeghley, Social Stratification in America, pp.155-6, 'skilled' can be attributed to craft workers and 'semi-skilled' to operatives as their work is more easily learnt than that of craft workers.

#### Metal Processors:

Ironmongers/Tinsmiths/Coppersmiths) and

Related Workers (Plumbers/Welders).

Toolmakers (Metal Patternmakers)

Machinery Fitters/Assemblers/Precision Instrument Makers

(Watch, Clock/Mechanics/Fitters & Turners (not electrical)

Electricians.

Jewellery and Precious Metal Workers (Moulders)

Blacksmiths (Farriers),

#### Wood Preparation Workers

Sawyers & Paper Makers

Cabinetmakers and Related Woodworkers such as Wheelwrights.

Carpenters and Joiners

Carriage/Coach and Wagonmakers

Stone Cutters (Masons)

Bricklayers, Carpenters (and other Construction

Workers - Plasterers, Glaziers, Rookers

Stationary Engine and Related Equipment Operators (Power-  
generating machinery operators)

Chemical Processers and Related Workers:

Grinders & Mixers

Spinners, Weavers, Knitters, Dyers and Related Workers:

Hidecurers/Tanners.

Food and Beverage Processers:

Butchers/Bakers/Confectioners & Cooks/Brewers

Writers (Sign), Bartenders and Related Workers

Tobacco Preparers and Tobacco Product Makers

Cigars/Cigarettes

Tailors, Dressmakers, Milliners & Hatmakers, Seamstresses,

Upholsterers and Related Workers

Boot/Shoemakers and Leather Goods Makers/Repairers

Glass Formers, Potters and Related Workers

Printers and Related Workers:

Compositors & Typesetters,

Engravers, Bookbinders.

Painters (construction), Decorators

Workers not elsewhere classified:

Musical Instrument Makers/Tuners)

Material-handling and Related Equipment Operators, Dockers &

Freight Handlers (Crane and hoist operators)

Transport Equipment Operators (Boatmen, Railway Engine Drivers &

Firemen, Brakemen, Signalmen & Shunters, Motor vehicle drivers)

Lighthouse-keeper

Supervisors and general foremen of manual employees (Agriculture/Industry) tended to constitute a kind of blue-collar elite; their supervising functions which implied discretion and autonomy set them apart from the mass of working class.

Lower rating: (unskilled manual workers - marginal)

This grouping, whose members were largely without property or special credentials, rely almost completely on labour power for their material existence. Their position, whether measured in terms of literacy, educational attainment, or actual job proficiency did not generally produce economic security or comfort. As a result, when they were employed, these 'near poor' people were likely to work at domestic service or menial service jobs, as unskilled labour or at farm labour.

General Labourers:

(Farm, Factory, Building site, Quarryman, Railway porters/shunters, Wharfinger, Home Domestics, Office and Industrial Cleaners, Messengers)

Guards/Caretakers/Turnkeys

Messengers

Guides

Self-employed workers:

Street Vendors/Hawkers, jobbing

Gardeners/Waterman (supplies water to ships in port)/Woolwasher/

Ferryman/Lime Burner

#### 4. Low stratum (Residual)

(Workers not classifiable by occupation)

New Workers seeking employment

Workers reporting occupations unidentifiable or inadequately described

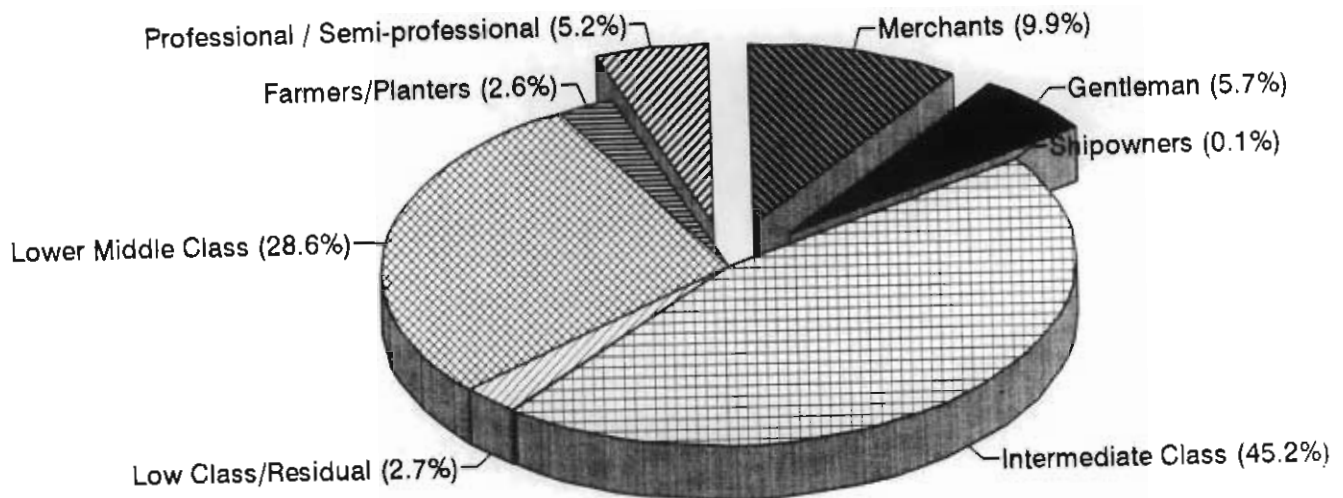
Workers not reporting any occupation. Inability to perform could be ascribed to scarcity of job opportunities in a chosen field, old age, ill health or being handicapped.

(The aged and widowed without income fell in the residual category, whereas pensioners/widows who earned income from property or other assets could be categorized marginal and accordingly be stratified in the intermediate grouping).

Appendix A: Table 1  
Occupational 'Class' Distribution of colonial Durbanites  
within Durban Borough Boundary by Gender, Employed  
Heads of Families 1880/1881  
 (Aged approximately 20-64)

# OCCUPATIONAL "CLASS"

## 1880/1881



### Notes

1. Occupational counting for 1880/1881 is unsatisfactory when compared to population figures for this period. Such statistics however, still serve as a rough indicator of occupational class distribution of mainly White males in a White dominated society with a few Indian merchants and storekeepers recorded mostly of central Durban within the Durban Borough Boundary.
2. The male head per household unit has been listed as married women were mostly dependants and unemployed. White occupational female listings are mostly those of the single and widowed included in the intermediate and lower middle class groupings. White domestics are not included.
3. These rough figures show a larger number of workers in the intermediate and lower grades, than in the higher stratum of mainly White males.
4. Lower-graded Indians, Blacks and Coloureds from the residual class have not been included, due to the fragmentary nature of recorded listings. Figures from other secondary sources in the text however, do verify their existence. Many resided on the periphery of the Durban Borough Boundary and only performed their tasks in the city-centre during daylight hours, for example as hawkers. Many Whites reported no occupation, for example prostitutes. The count in this grouping is unsatisfactory.

### Sources

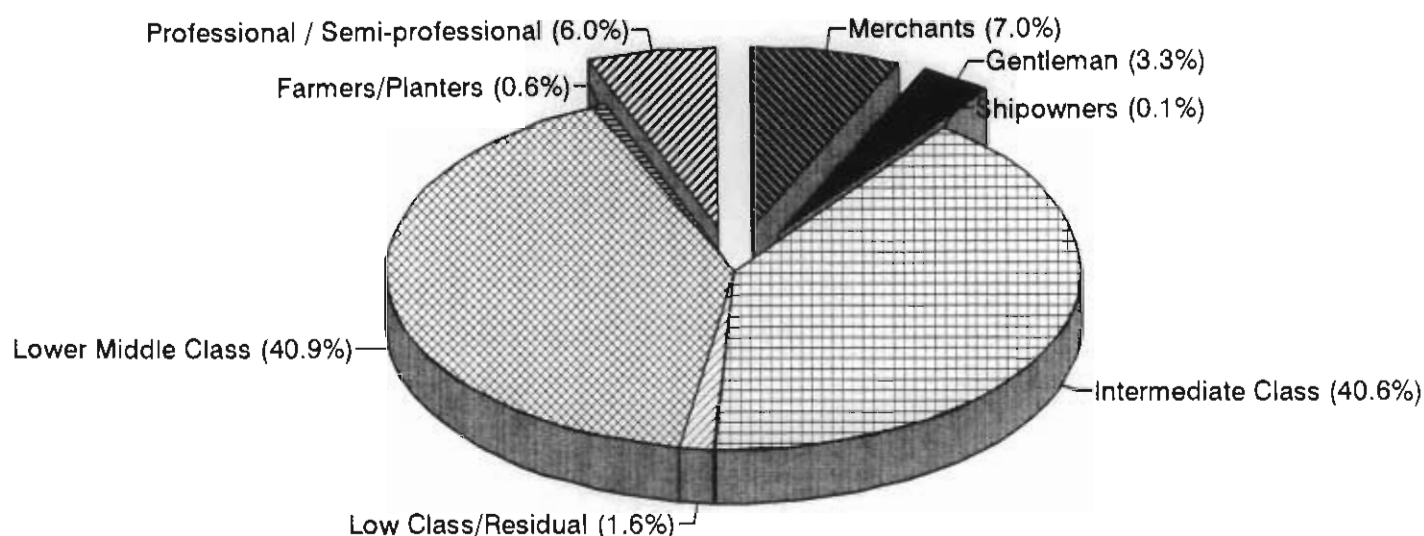
NGG, vol.XXXII, no.1843, 7 September 1880, pp.644-61: Voters' List for Members of the Legislative Council for the Township or Borough of Durban, for the Year Ending 31 August 1881; *ibid.*, vol.XXXI, no.1752, 18 February 1879, pp.60-2: Education Report for 1878; *ibid.*, vol.XXXII, no.1808, 17 February 1880, pp.177-91: Education Report for 1879: Listing of Teachers in Durban Schools; Natal Almanac, Directory and Yearly Register, 1880, pp.365-74: Business Directory; Natal Blue Book 1880, C2-C101: Civil Establishments and List of Offices.



Appendix A: Table 2  
Occupational 'Class' Distribution of colonial Durbanites  
within Durban Borough Boundary by Gender,  
Employed Heads of Families 1900  
 (Aged approximately 20-64)

# OCCUPATIONAL "CLASS"

## 1900/1901



### Notes

1. This occupational count is more confined to central Durban and in relation to population figures for Durban, unsatisfactory. Such statistics however, have become more detailed than previous Commercial or Business listings in the Natal Almanac, Directory and Yearly Register or Natal Government Gazette and do give some rough indication of occupational class distribution of mainly White males and Indian merchants and storekeepers (mostly in central Durban) within the Durban Borough Boundary.
2. The majority of occupations from this counting in a White dominated society, fall in the intermediate and lower middle class bracket.
3. Omission of low unskilled and residual Africans, Indians and Coloureds is due to fragmentary listings recorded. From secondary sources the assumption can be made that many resided on the Durban periphery and only became urban occupational dwellers by day, for example hawkers.
4. Male heads of households are listed as married women were generally dependants and unemployed. White occupational female listings are mostly those of the single and widowed. Many Whites reported no occupation, for example prostitutes.
5. A decline of approximately 7% in only twenty years of the upper (middle) class (only approximately 17% of total), does suggest that the Second Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902) must have had some effect on these figures.

### Sources

NGG, vol.LII, no.3114, 17 July 1900, pp.911-56: Voters' List for Durban Borough ending 31 August 1901; *ibid.*, vol.LII, no.3104, 10 April 1900, pp.185-234: Education Notice: Listing of Teachers in Durban Schools; Natal Almanac, Directory and Yearly Register, 1900, pp.347-66: Trade Directory.

## Appendix B

A Four-graded Status Model for Colonial Durban Society.

(This urban social hierarchy of colonial Durban society, has borne Weber's status dimension in mind with suggested hierarchical status or prestige ratings. Occupational grading units applicable to their market-based economy, were adapted from The International Standard Classification of Occupations (Isco), (Revised Edition. Geneva: International Labour Officer, 1968), pp.25-33. The Hope-Goldthorpe seven and elevenfold schemas in John H. Goldthorpe and Keith Hope The Social Grading of Occupations: A New Approach and Scale (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), pp. 30-60; John H. Goldthorpe Social Mobility and Class Structure in Modern Britain (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), pp.38-67, were also borne in mind, as Goldthorpe and Hope followed the same procedures as the OPCS in coding all members of the major professions to the same category).

"the few"

A: Upper stratum/class (could constitute a 'gentry' in the colonial setting)

Higher rating: Positions of leadership and social responsibility in which they were entrusted to control political and ideological production.

Members of Natal Government:

Colonial Governor

Attorney-General

Colonial Secretary

Colonial Treasurer

Secretary to Native Affairs

Colonial Engineer)

Surveyor-General

Other Members of Parliament - Executive/Legislative/Judicial

(Judge/Resident Magistrate/Clerk of Court)

Members of Durban Town Government

Mayor/Councillors (many chosen from influential wealthy merchants)

Other highest ranking commanding and responsible positions:

Military/Naval - Commander

Clergy - Archdeacon/Catholic Bishop & Priest/Colonial Chaplain

Diplomats - Ambassadors/Consuls

Subordinate ranking - Professionals/semi-professionals

(Prestige ranking attributed to educational qualifications)

Civil service executive officers:

Customs Controller

Protector of Immigrants

Registrar of Deeds

Town Clerk

Other professionals/semi-professionals:

Accountants

Architects

Surveyors

Medical Practitioners (Doctors/Dentists/Veterinary Surgeons)

Pharmacists/Chemists

Engineers

Jurists (Attorneys/Solicitors)

Company Secretaries

Superintendents - Missions/Education/Medical/Transport/Police

Authors/Editors

Brokers (Stock/Insurance)

Curators

Archivists/Librarians

Social welfare workers

Ship's Officers & Pilots/Port Captain

Producers (Cinema)

Primary & Secondary Teachers

Parochial Clergy

Entertainers/Artists

Journalists

Prestige ranking also attributed to those presumably wealthy enough with abundant leisure time to report themselves for listing in the occupational registers as:

Gentleman (Gentlewoman presumably shared status)

"the many"

B: Intermediate stratum (Middle class & 'middling group')

High rating:

Farmers (Proprietors)

Merchants (Wealth could influence lifestyle)

Storekeepers

Managers (Manufacturing/construction/commerce)

Insurance, Real Estate & Business Services Salesmen, Agents

Auctioneers

Commercial Travellers and Manufacturers' Agents

(Proprietors/self-employed - higher in esteem than salaried employees - Money and entrepreneurial position were not in themselves status qualifications, although they may lead to them.)

Hoteliers (Proprietors/Managers)

Boarding Housekeepers (Proprietors/Managers)

Restaurateurs (Eating Houses)

Shops/Storekeepers/Salesmen

Launderers

Protective (Police/Fire and Detectives/Army members (Defence)

Undertakers

Artists (Painters)

Builders (Houses/Carriages/Workshops)

## Guides

Lower rating: Routine (clerical)

Bookkeepers/Cashiers

Railway Station Masters and Conductors

Telephone and Telegraph Operators

Secretaries

Typists

Clerks

Translators/Interpreters

Managers/Supervisors/General Foreman of Manual Employees

(Agriculture & Industry)

Fisherman & Hunters

Public Health Inspectors

Nurse

C: Low class/stratum (Manual/Working class)

Higher rating: Skilled/semi-skilled, owning property and self-employed - could prosper to be classed intermediate.

Hairdressers

Quarryman.

Metal Processors (Ironmongers/Tinsmiths/Coppersmiths)

Wood Preparation Workers (Sawyers & Paper Makers)

Carpenters & Joiners,

Chemical Processers and Related Workers

Tanners/Fellmongers and Felt Dressers

Food and Beverage Processers (Butchers/Bakers/Confectioners/

Brewers

Cooks, Writers (Sign), Bartenders and Related Workers

Tobacco Preparers and Tobacco Product Makers (Cigars/Cigarettes)

Tailors/Dressmakers/Milliners & Hatmakers/Seamstresses

Shoemakers and Leather Goods Makers/Repairers

Cabinetmakers and Related Woodworkers

Stone Cutters (Masons)

Blacksmiths/Farriers/Toolmakers (Metal Patternmakers)

Machinery Fitters/Assemblers/Precision Instrument Makers

(Watch/Clock/Mechanics/Fitters & Turners - not electrical)

Electricians.

Plumbers/Welders.

Jewellery and Precious Metal Workers (Moulders)

Glass Formers/Potters & Related Workers

Printers & Related Workers (Compositors & Typesetters,  
Engravers,

Bookbinders.

Painters (construction),/Decorators

Workers not elsewhere classified:

(Musical Instrument Makers/Tuners)

Bricklayers/Plasterers, Glaziers, Rookers)

Stationary engine and related equipment operators  
(power-generating machinery operators)

Material-handling and related equipment operators, Dockers &  
Freight Handlers (Crane and Hoist Operators)

Transport equipment operators (Boatmen/Railway Engine  
Drivers/Firemen/Brakemen/Signalmen & Shunters/Motor-vehicle  
drivers)

Lower rating: Unskilled were rated as unprivileged with higher  
poverty status - the 'near poor'

Self-employed workers (Street vendors/hawkers/jobbing gardeners)

General Labourers (Farms/Factories/Building site/Railway  
porters/shunters/Office & Industrial Cleaners/Messengers)

## Guards/Caretaker/Turnkeys

D: Low stratum/class (Residual)

\* Workers not classifiable by occupation were rated as unprivileged with lower poverty status - 'the poor'.

New workers seeking employment

Workers reporting occupations unidentifiable or inadequately described.

Workers not reporting any occupation (the sick, handicapped, widows and the aged without income).

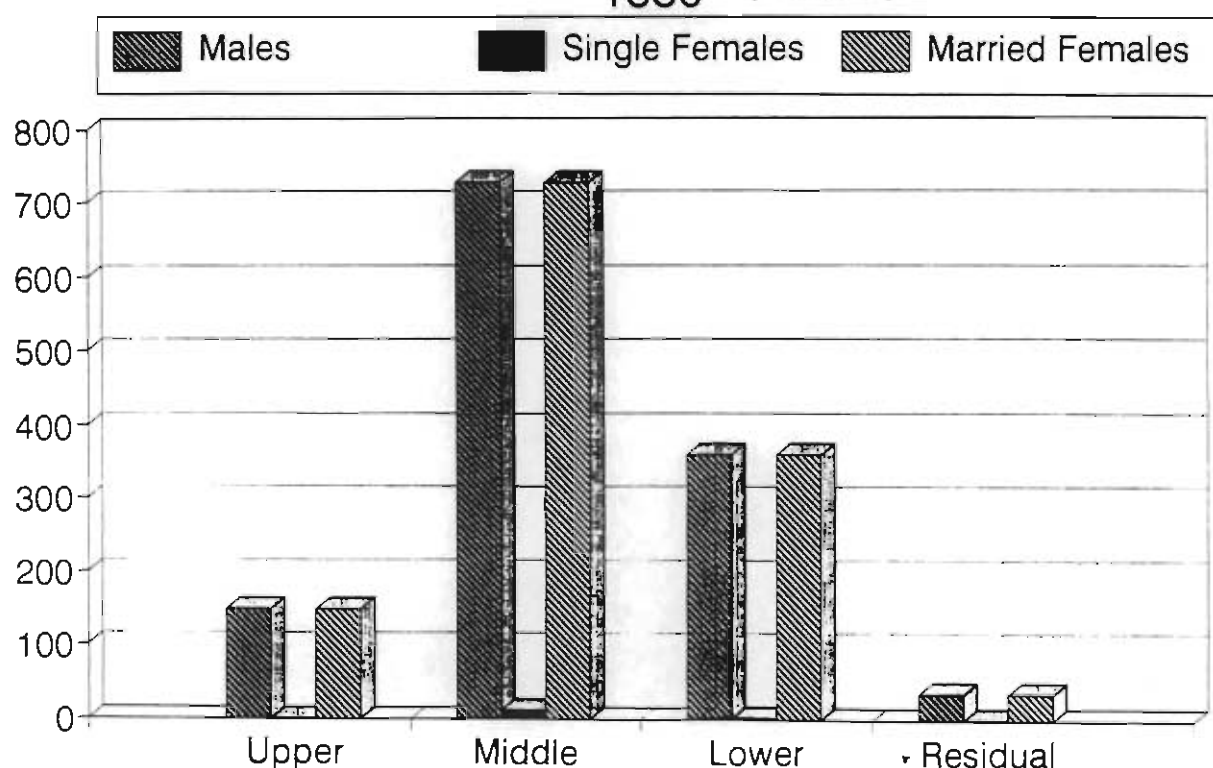
(It should again be emphasized that none of these characteristics are absolute as not all people mentioned in this category, especially the widowed were necessarily poor. Pensioners and the widowed with income could be categorized marginal and accordingly be stratified in the intermediate grouping).



Appendix B: Table 3  
Occupational 'Status' Distribution of colonial Durbanites  
within Durban Borough Boundary by Gender, Employed Heads  
of Families 1880/1881  
 (Aged approximately 20-64)

## Group Occupational "Status"

1880 (Whites)



### Notes

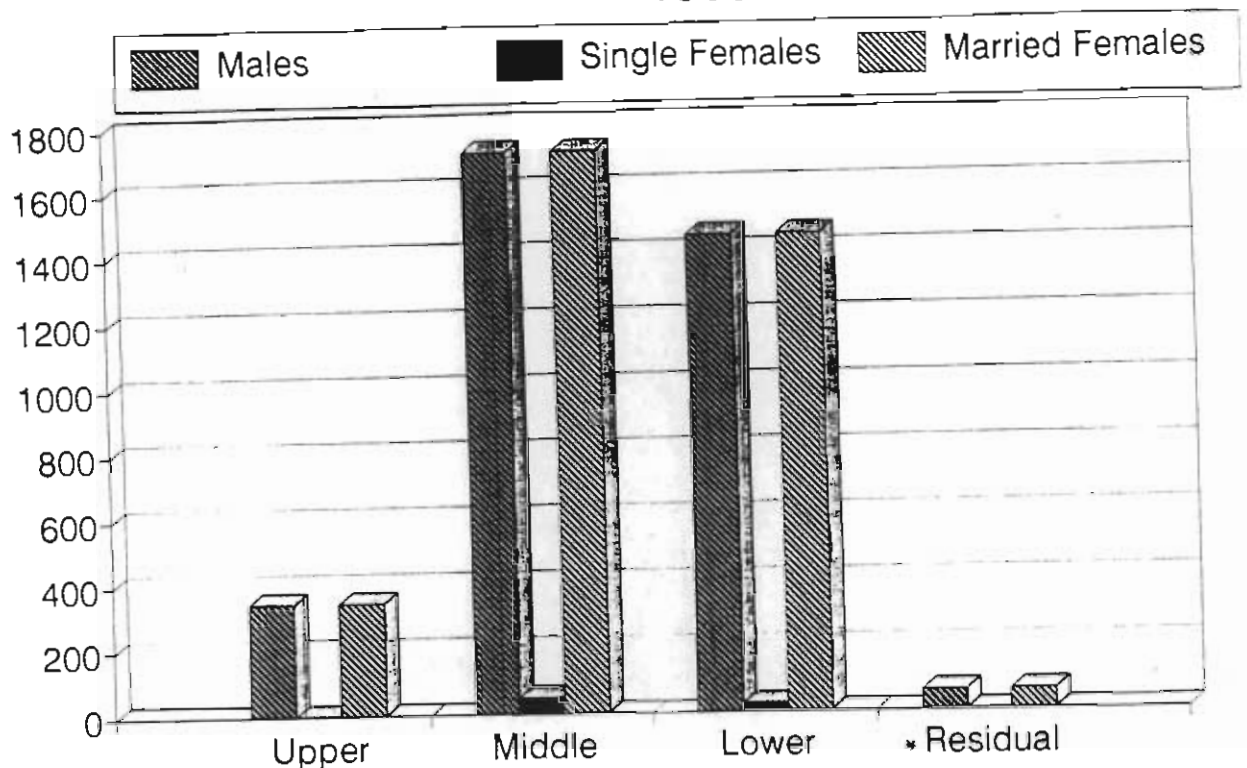
1. A rough estimation of 'the few' Whites only in the upper class and 'the many' Whites in the middle and lower stratum. Married women enjoyed the same occupational status as the male heads of households.
2. \* Countings for the residual class are incomplete and insignificant for this graph.
3. Other races omitted from this count due to fragmentary listings were held in low esteem by the dominant British sector of Durban society and were ascribed with low subordinate status.

### Sources

Natal Almanac, Directory and Yearly Register, 1880, pp.365-74;  
Business Directory; NGG, vol.XXXII, no.1843, 7 September 1880,  
 pp.644-61; Voters' List for Durban Borough for the Year Ending 31  
August 1881; Natal Blue Book 1880, C2-C101: Civil Establishments and  
 List of Offices.

Appendix B: Table 4  
Occupational 'Status' Distribution of colonial Durbanites  
within Durban Borough Boundary by Gender, Employed Heads  
of Families 1900/1901  
 (Aged approximately 20-64)

## Group Occupational "Status" 1900 (Whites)



### Notes

1. A rough indication of 'the few' Whites at the top and of 'the many' Whites' on the lower rungs of the social ladder. Married women, for the most part, shared the same occupational status as their male counterparts.
- 2.\* Countings for the residual class are incomplete and insignificant for this graph.
3. Other races have been omitted due to fragmentary listings. They were held in low esteem by the dominant British sector of Durban society and would have been ascribed with low subordinate status.

### Sources

Natal Almanac, Directory and Yearly Register, 1900, pp.347-66; Trade Directory; NGE, vol. LII, no.3114, 17 July 1900, pp.811-56; Voters' List for Durban Borough ending 31 August 1901; *ibid.*, vol.LII, no.3104, 10 April 1900, pp.185-234; Education Notice: Listings of Teachers in Durban Schools.

## Appendix C

Natal Government Civil Establishment (1880) with emphasis on  
Durban and in relation to the Four-class Model of hierarchical  
occupational class differences.

(Source: Natal Blue Book (PMB., 1880), C2-C101).

(This listing of income, although probably less than those in the upper echelon of the private sector, was still high by colonial standards. It has relevance in showing the big gap in salary between someone at the top of the occupational ladder in the colonial governmental sphere and someone in the intermediate and lower manual rungs of the ladder.)

<u>Office</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Salary p.a./Class</u>
Governor and Commander- Chief, Vice-Admiral, and Supreme Chief	Sir George Pomeroy-Colley, Mayor-General, KCSI, C.B., C.M.G.	£2 500 1
Private Secretary	Captain McGregor, R.E.	£150 2
Clerk, Governor's Office	A.X. Byrne	£225 2
Gardener, Government House	W. Clark	£100 3
Native Messenger	....	£12 3
<u>Executive Council</u>		
Clerk	G.R.B. Grimes	£100 2
<u>Colonial Secretary's Office</u>		
Colonial Secretary	C.B.H. Mitchell, Lt.Col., RM, C.M.G.	£1 000 1
Chief Clerk	I.S. Haden (acting)	£350 2
First Clerk	J.A. Mitchell	£200 2
Second Clerk	C.J. Bird	£150 2
Office Keeper	J. O'Keefe	£120 2
European Messenger	Y. Worthington	£48 3
Two Native Messengers	..... (At £12 each)	£24 3

Secretary for Native Affairs Office

Secretary for Native Affairs	J.W. Shepstone (acting)	£800	1
Clerk	J.J. Sewell	£262 10s	2
Second Clerk	J.E. Frampston	£150	2
Two Messengers (Natives at £12 each)		£24	3

Treasury

Col. Treasurer	J.T. Polkinghorne	£700	1
Clerk & Accountant	T. Primrose	£300	2
Second Clerk	H.B. Bainbridge	£180	2
Third Clerk	A.W.F. Taylor	£150	2
Fourth Clerk	F.S. Bird	£100	2
Sub-Accountant,	J.J. Field	£25	2
Ladysmith			
Native Messenger	....	£12	3

Audit Office

Auditor	J.P. Symons	£600	1
First Clerk	G.A. Read	£300	2
Second Clerk	H. Wylde-Brown	£217 10s	2
Third Clerk	T.J. St. George	£150	2
Fourth Clerk	P.C. Hawkins	£100	2
Clerk, Durban	W.C. Beviss	£165 10s	2
Native Messenger	....	£12	3

Registrar of Deeds' Office

Registrar of Deeds	G. Lamond	£400	1
First Clerk	James Craw	£300	2
Second Clerk	J.W.F. Bird	£120	2
Third Clerk	J.D'A Dumaesq	£100	2
Native Messenger	...	£12	3

Surveyor-General's Office

Surveyor-General	F. C. ...		
------------------	-----------	--	--

Clerk, Draughtsman, & Examiner of Diagrams	C.G. Behrens	£300	2
---	--------------	------	---

Second Clerk	G.W. Taylor	£124 14s	2
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Public Works Department

Colonial Engineer	A.H. Hime, Capt. R.E.	£1 000	1
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Chief Clerk & Accountant	E.F. McGill	£300	2
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First Clerk & Draughtsman	W.G. Evans	£285	2
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Clerk of Works, Durban	C.J.H. Jenkyn	£350	2
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Clerk of Works, PMB.	A. Singleton	£300	2
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Second Clerk	A.S. Leslie	£110	2
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Third Clerk	T.N. Smith	£110	2
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Accountant's Clerk	R. McGlew	£100	2
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Customs

Collector of Customs	G. Rutherford	£700	1
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Clerk & Warehouse-keeper	J. Byrne	£300	2
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Second Clerk	R.R. Cochrane	£150	2
--------------	---------------	------	---

Third Clerk	R. Amon	£150	2
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Fourth Clerk	R.A.J. Matthews	£100	2
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Supervisor, Bonded Warehouse	Blake Goble	£50	2
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First Landing Waiter	J.O'Mahony	£300	3
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Second " "	A. Marling	£250	3
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Third " "	R. Upton	£162/10	3
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First Locker & Tidewaiter	J. Maslen	£150	3
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Second " & "	T.H. Swatton	£120	3
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Third " & "	T. Nicoll	£120	3
-------------	-----------	------	---

Extra Tidewaiter	W. Pattison	£108	3
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" "	A.F. Rudd	£108	3
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" "	D. Aubrey	£108	3
-----	-----------	------	---

" "	C. White	£108	3
-----	----------	------	---

Watchman & Boatman	C. Spradbrow	£84	3
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" " "			
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Messenger (Native)	....	£12	3
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Port Office

Port Captain	A. Airth	£350	2
Clerk	(Vacant)	£100	3
First Pilot	J.R. Wellington	£218	3
Second "	C. Strachan	£175	3
Third "	G. Vibert	£150	3
Fourth "	L. Durrant	£120	3
Fifth "	W. Gordon	£100	3
Engineer, Steam Tug	G.D. Stewart	£250	3
Second Engineer	W. Hoskison	£150	3
Carpenter	T. Johnson	£144	3
Signalman, Bluff	A. Hunt	£120	3
Assistant Signalman	...	£24	3
Two Boatmen	...	£192	3
Stokers	...	£348	3
Native & other Boatmen	...	£350	3
Lighthouse-keeper	D. Moffat	£125	3
Assistant "	D.W. Bell	£100	3
Sub-Assistant "	...	£10	3
Two Coolie Attendants	...	£29	3

Postal Department

Postmaster-General	A.H.W. Moodie	£400	2
First Clerk	W.B. Shurmer	£209 10s.	2
Second "	F.R. Becher	£200	2
Third "	R.S. Bumbury	£162 10s.	2
Fourth "	Vacant	£150	2
Fifth "	H. Smith	£136	2
Sixth "	J.G. Baker	£100	2
Seventh "	D. Stephen	£100	2

Native Messenger	...	£12	3
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Durban

Postmaster	C.J. Coakes	£350	2
First Clerk	A.W. Collins	£200	2
Second "	J.E. Powys	£165 10s.	2
Third "	F.J. Marillier	£110	2
Fourth "	W. Pike	£106 13s. 4d.	2
Fifth "	R.N. Williams	£100	2
Sixth "	J. Tilbury	£100	2

Field Commandant & Cornets

County of Durban

Durban Borough

	H.T.A. Noble	£10	2
Ward No 1	W.G.W. Chadwick	£15	2
Ward No 2	T.W. Bower	£15	2
Ward No 3	J. Sanderson	£15	2

FerrymanUmgeni Division

Baynes' Drift	W. Baynes	£24	3
Morton's Drift	M. Morton	£24	3

Durban County

Ferryman Lower Drift, Illovo	Ramasammy	£12	3
------------------------------	-----------	-----	---

JudicialSupreme Court

Chief Justice	Sir H. Connor	£1 200	1
First Puisine Judge	(Vacant)	£1 000	1
Second " "	C. Cadiz	£1 000	1
Master & Registrar	R.I. Finnemore	£350	2
Interpreter	F.H. Methley	£250	2
Clerk to Master	R.B. Tatham	£108	2

Clerk to District



400

Messenger & Usher	J.J. Paterson	£110	3
Native Messenger	...	£12	3

Native High Court

Judge	A.S. Windham (acting)	£800	1
Registrar	W.R. Gordon	£250	2
European Messenger	C.E. Garbett	£84	3
Native Messenger	...	£12	3

Sheriff's Office

Sheriff	A. Clarence	£250	2
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Attorney General's Department

Attorney-General	M.H. Gallwey	£800	1
Clerk to "	W. Broome	£200	2
Native Messenger	....	£12	3
Clerk of the Peace, Counties	J.P. Waller	£250	2

of Durban, Alexandra, Alfred &

Prosecutor Native High Court

Division Courts

County of Durban/Borough Division

Resident Magistrate	Arthur Mesham	£500	1
First Clerk, Registrar of the Circuit Court, & Officer for the Sale of Stamps	R.C. Vissick	£300	2

Second Clerk	G. Leask	£196/10	2
Third "	M.R.N. Matthews	£100	2
Clerk & Interpreter	H.V. Ridgway	£150	2
Messenger	H.T.A. Noble	£100	3
Coolie Interpreter	E. Subham	£60	2

Ecclesiastical

Chaplain English Church	Very Rev. J. Green, M.A.	£100	2
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(Mostly paid by church)

Educational

Superintending Inspector of Schools (PMB.)	R. Russell	£600	1
Durban			
Headmaster High School	P.G. Sandford, B.A.	£500	2
Assistant Headmaster	W.H. Nicholas, B.A.	£250	2
Headmaster, Model Primary	J. Crowe	£300	2
First Assistant Master	R.L. Grant	£200	2
Second " "	E.S. Duncan	£100	2
Third " "	Fred Hankswood	£32	2

Medical

## County of Durban, Borough Division

District Surgeon	W.H. Addison	£200	2
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Durban Hospital

Superintendent	H. Barnes	£150	2
Matron	E. Howroyd	£60	2
Dispenser	A.J. Kingsley	£100	2
Nurse	C. Percy	£45	2
Three Native Attendants	...	£36	3
Coolie Assistant	...	£24	3
Three Assistants	...	£36	3

Police & Gaols

## County of Durban, Borough Division

Superintendent, Central Gaol	J.V. Philips	£250	2
Matron	Mrs. Philips	£60	2
European Constable	John Davies	£84	2
Five European Turnkeys	...	£472	3
Six European Convict Guards	...	£448	3
Three Native Constables (at £14 each)	...	£42	2
Eight Native Turnkeys (at £14 each)	...	£126	3
Sixteen Native Convict Guards	...	£240	3

One Indian Interpreter	...	£18	2
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Legislative Council

Speaker	J.W. Akerman	£400	2
Clerk of the Council	S. Stranack	£337	2
Clerk Assistant	T. Garlicke	£225	2
Shorthand Reporter	T.F. Carter	£275	2
Usher	D. Slatter	£100	2

Colonial Defence

Commandant & Inspector of Volunteers	J.G. Dartnell	£150	2
Adjutant	N.E. Davey	£250	2
Storekeeper & Armourer	F.C. Choles	£150	2
Caretaker	R. Boyd	£24	3
Two Infantry Drill In- structors	...	£24	3

Mounted Police

Commandant	J.G. Dartnell	£500	2
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Conservators

Bay & Harbour	P.B. Short	£36	3
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Excise

Controller of Excise	R.B. Struthers	£350	2
Excise Surveyor	W. Hare	£120	2
Excise Surveyor	James Hajenius	£120	2
Excise Surveyor	George Herbert	£120	2

Immigration

Protector of Immigrants	Major S. Growes	£600	2
Secretary Land & Immigration	Charles Arthur Butler	£250	2

Board

Medical Circles

Durban

Officer of Dbn. Coolie

Medical Circle	George Lindsay Bonnar	£300	2
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Telegraphs

General Manager	J. Sivewright	£150	2
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Natal Government Railways (N.G.R.)

General Manager, N.G.R.	David Hunter	£1 000	1
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Accountant, N.G.R.	R.W. Griffiths	£400	2
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Traffic Superintendent, N.G.R.	J.F. Manisty	£350	2
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Inspector of Police, Railway	C. Atkinson	£150	2
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Department

Arms & Ammunition

Officer for sale of gunpowder	Charles Joseph Lowe	£85	2
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(Durban)

Caretaker, Magazine, Durban	David Butler	£108	2
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Suggested Typology of a 'Power' Model for the Colonial  
City of Durban.

(This urban power hierarchy in colonial Durban society is a suggested 'power model' based on occupational class and prestige and implies a status order of positions of leadership and social responsibility.)

The political class

(The 'political class' in the colonial Durban context of early industrial capitalism, was also the 'ruling class'; the privileged few exercising actual political functions who were in these positions either because of the moral authority which they held or financial power they possessed, (unlike in modern times of mature industrial capitalism where they could be separated into those who rule and those who influence those who rule).

Highest grading (the privileged few)

Members of Durban Town/City Council: Mayor (nominal head)

Councillors

Durban County Representatives (Members of Natal Government).

(These Representatives were in many cases chosen from the Durban Town Council members who had been trained to participate in the political process in local government. If chosen, they became representative in the Executive and Legislative Assembly of the Natal Government).

Intergovernmental relations: Some measure of local independence, together with a measure of congruence with central government on broad questions of national policy.

Lower grading (Subordinate to the above mentioned Town Councillors):

Durban Town Council Officials (Appointment by Councillors):

Town Clerk

Assistant Town Clerk

Town Treasurer

Assistant Treasurer

Chief Cashier

Licensing Officer

Town Solicitor

Town/City Engineer/Surveyor

Town/City Electrical Engineer

Building Inspector

Chief Constable/Superintendent of Borough/Town/City Police

General Manager, Tramways

Manager, Telephones

Town/City Medical Officer of Health

Inspector of Nuisances.

General Storekeeper

Water Inspector

Borough Analyst

Market Master

Foreman of Works

Fire Master

Curator of Museum

(Some of these officials such as Engineers/Surveyors could also move a step higher in their careers by being appointed as Colonial Engineers/Surveyors and thus become Members of Parliament.)

Lowest grading (The electorate).

(Burgesses in the respective wards of the demarcated Durban Borough entitled by restricted suffrage to vote for Councillors to represent them in the Durban Town Council).

Appendix EDurban Mayors from 1854 to 1910 (Colonial Period).

1854-5-6	G.C.Cato
1856-57	Edward Snell and Savery Pinsent
1857-58	A.W.Evans and J.R.Goodricke
1859-60	William Hartley
1860-1-2-3	Alexander McArthur
1863-4-5	Hugh Gillespie
1865-66	John Hunt and R.W.Tyzack
1866-67	Arthur Harvey and John Millar
1867-68	Edward Snell
1868-69	Edward Snell and William S. Field
1869-70	William S. Field and J.D.Ballance
1870-71	Richard Vause and William Palmer
1871-72	William Palmer
1872-73	John Goodliffe
1873-74	Edward Pickering
1874-75	Richard Vause
1875-76	B.W.Greenacre
1876-7-8	William Arbuckle
1878-79	Richard Vause
1879-80	H.W.Currie
1880-1-2	William Arbuckle
1882-83	Edward Pickering
1883-4-5	Richard Vause
1885-86	J.W.Stranack
1886-87	W.E.Robarts
1887-88	T.A. O'Flaherty, R.L.Cunningham and J.J.Hillier



1888-89	J.J.Hillier
1889-90-1-2	B.W.Greenacre
1892-93	J.W.Leuchars
1893-4-5	George Payne
1895-6	Hon.R.Jameson
1896-97	George Payne
1897-98	B.W.Greenacre and John Nicol
1898-9-1900-1	John Nicol
1901-2	Ernest Leslie Acutt
1902-3 4-5	J.Ellis Brown
1905-6-7-8-9	C.Henwood
1909-10	Walter Greenacre
1910-11-12-13	F.C.Hollander

Source: Mayor's Parlour, Durban City Hall.

## Appendix F

Scheduled Durban Town Counciland Committee Meetings 1890.

## SCHEDULE OF MEETINGS.

COUNCIL AND COMMITTEE MEETINGS FROM 1ST AUGUST, 1889, TO 31ST JULY, 1890.

Council Meetings.	Whole Council Committee.	Town and Town Lands Committee.	Finance Committee.	Police Committee.	Lighting and Town Hall Committee.	Public Works, Water Supply and Tolls Committee.	Parks, Cemeteries and Tree Planting Committee.	Sanitary, Drainage, and Market Committee.	Building Committee.	Special Committee.	Total Committee Meetings.
26	40	18	13	9	5	7	2	5	26	2	127

## STANDING COMMITTEES.

Town and Town Lands ... ..	Councillors COWEY (chairman), PICKERING, STONELL, and STEEL.
Finance ... ..	Councillors O'FLAHERTY (chairman), COWEY, POYNTON, SNELL, BURNE, and MURRAY.
Police ... ..	Councillors PICKERING (chairman), POYNTON, O'FLAHERTY, COWEY, and SNELL.
Lighting and Town Hall... ..	Councillors PICKERING (chairman), STEEL, BINGHAM, MURRAY, and STONELL.
Public Works, Water Supply and Tolls ... ..	Councillors POYNTON (chairman Public Works), JAMESON (chairman Water Supply), BURNE, STONELL, O'FLAHERTY, and SNELL.
Parks, Cemeteries, and Tree Planting ... ..	Councillors JAMESON (chairman), STEEL, STEEL, MURRAY, PICKERING, and BINGHAM.
Sanitary, Drainage, and Market ... ..	Councillors JAMESON (chairman), BURNE, POYNTON, COWEY, and SNELL.
Building ... ..	Councillors POYNTON (chairman), PICKERING, STONELL, and SNELL.

The Mayor is *ex officio* a member of all Committees.

Source: 3 Dbn Ann A4/1, Mayor's Minute, 31 July, 1890, p.20



## Appendix G

These ward divisions increased from the original 4 in 1854 to 6 by 1894 and to 7 by 1906 due to population distribution

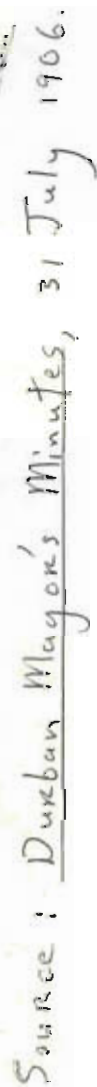


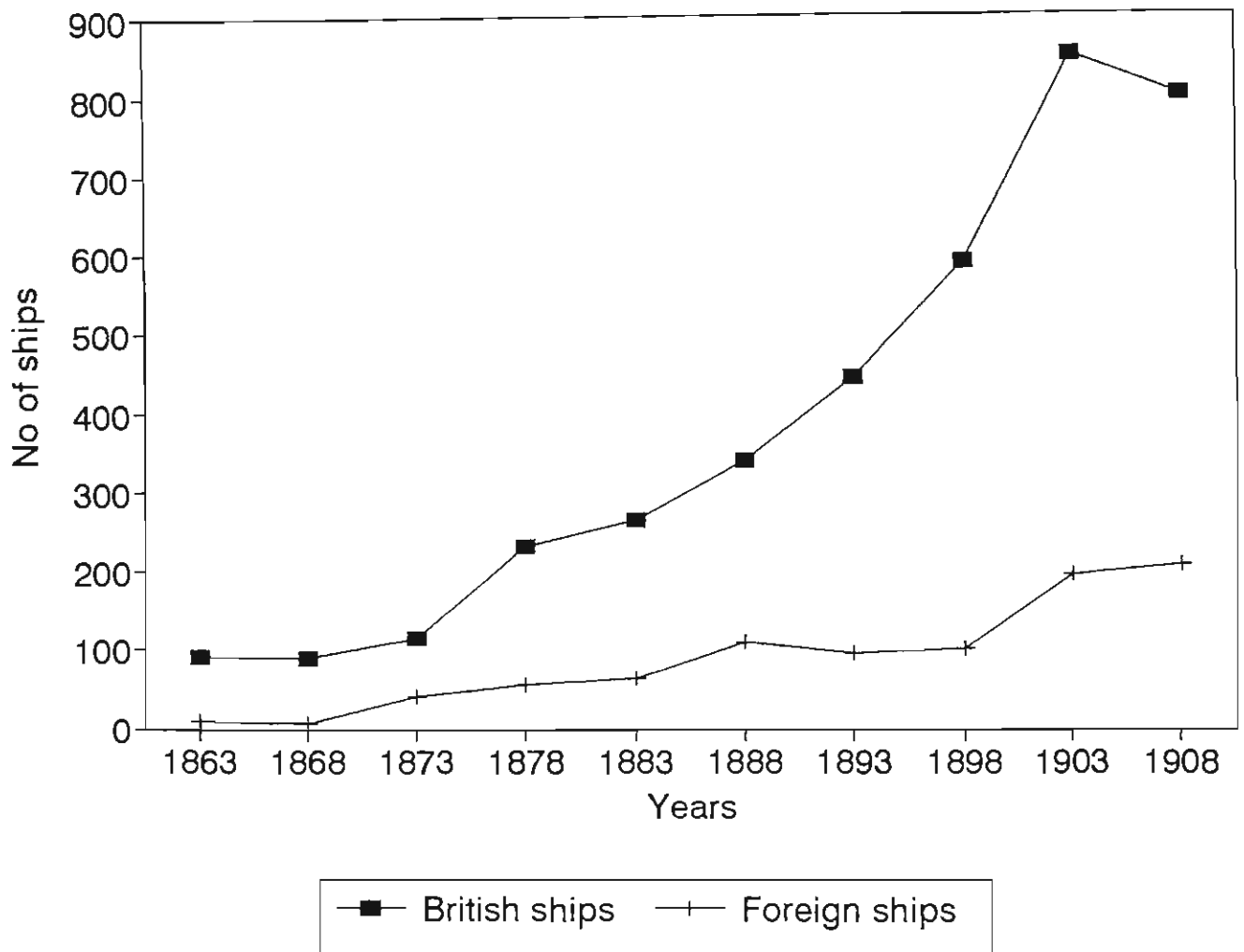


A small-scale group study of thirty-five Mayors

1. George Christopher Cato
2. Edward Snell
3. Savory Pinsent
4. A.W. Evans
5. J.R. Goodricke
6. William Hartley
7. Alexander McArthur
8. Hugh Gillespie
9. John Hunt
10. R.W. Tyzack
11. Arthur Harvey
12. John Millar
13. William Field
14. J.D. Ballance
15. William Palmer
16. William Arbuckle
17. John Goodliffe
18. Edward Pickering
19. Richard Vause
20. H.W. Currie
21. J.W. Stranack
22. W.E. Robarts
23. T.A. O'Flaherty
24. R.L. Cunningham
25. J.J. Hillier
26. B.W. Greenacre
27. J.W. Leuchars
28. George Payne
29. R. Jameson

30. John Nicol
31. Ernest Leslie Acutt
32. J. Ellis Brown
33. C. Henwood
34. Walter Greenacre
35. Felix Charles Hollander



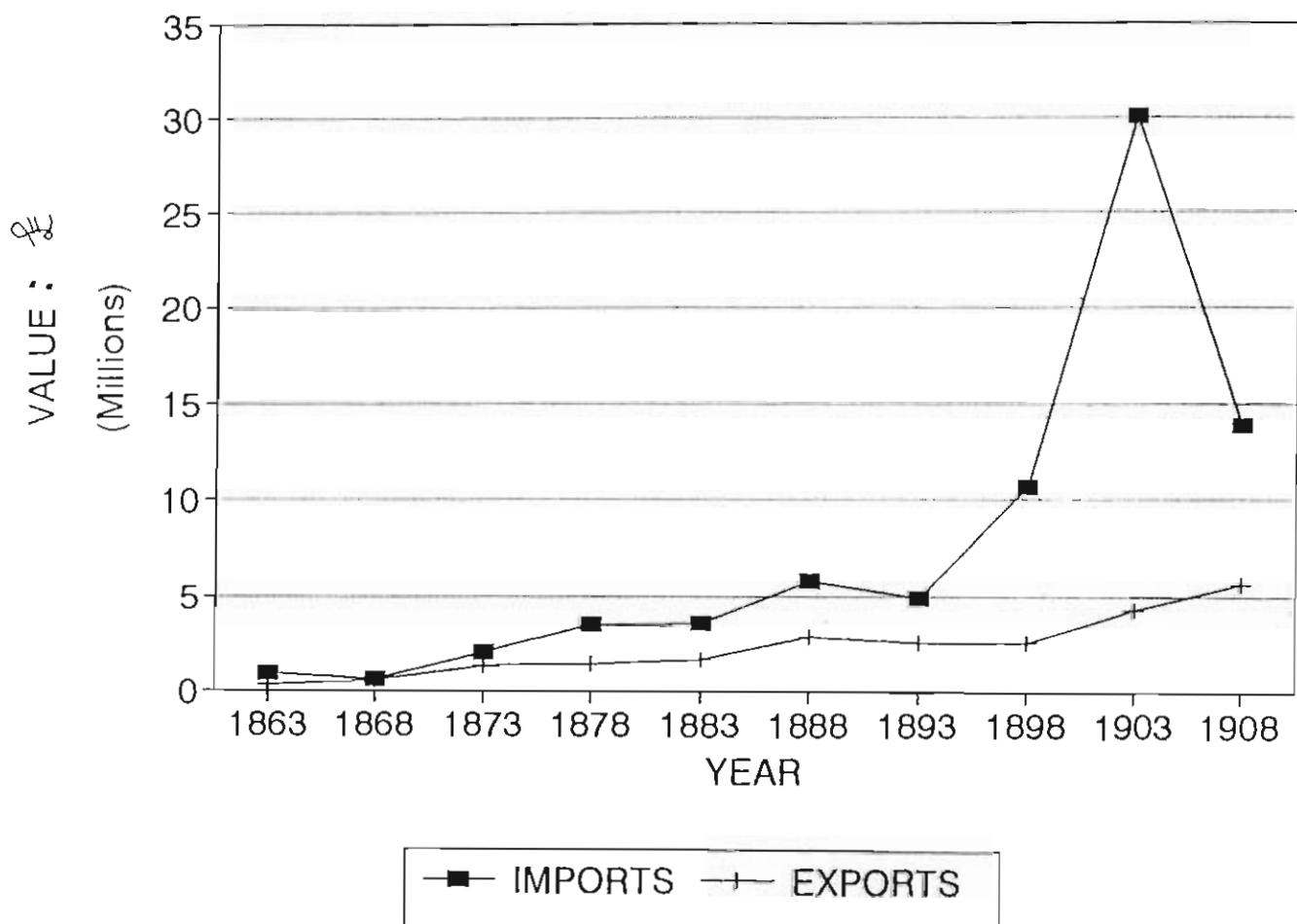
Appendix J: Table 5**Predominance of British Trade-Share**Note

Importation figures reached staggering heights during the Second Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902)

Source: Owen Hornwood, 'The Port of Durban', in Natal Regional Survey, (ed.), (Durban: University of Natal Press, 1969), vol. 15, p. 128, for figures.



# IMPORTS vs EXPORTS TOTAL PER YEAR



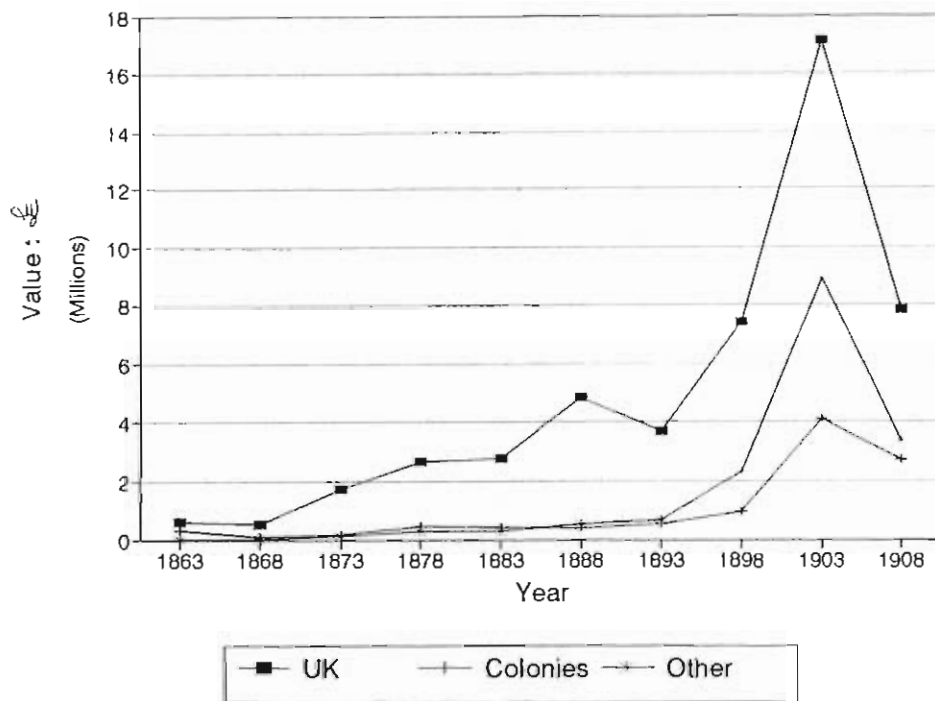
## Note

The strain placed on resources by the Second Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902) is shown by the doubling of imports and a slight climb in figures of exports.

## Source

Owen Hornwood, 'The Port of Durban', in Natal Regional Survey, (ed.), (Durban: University of Natal Press, 1969), vol. 15, p. 128, for figures.

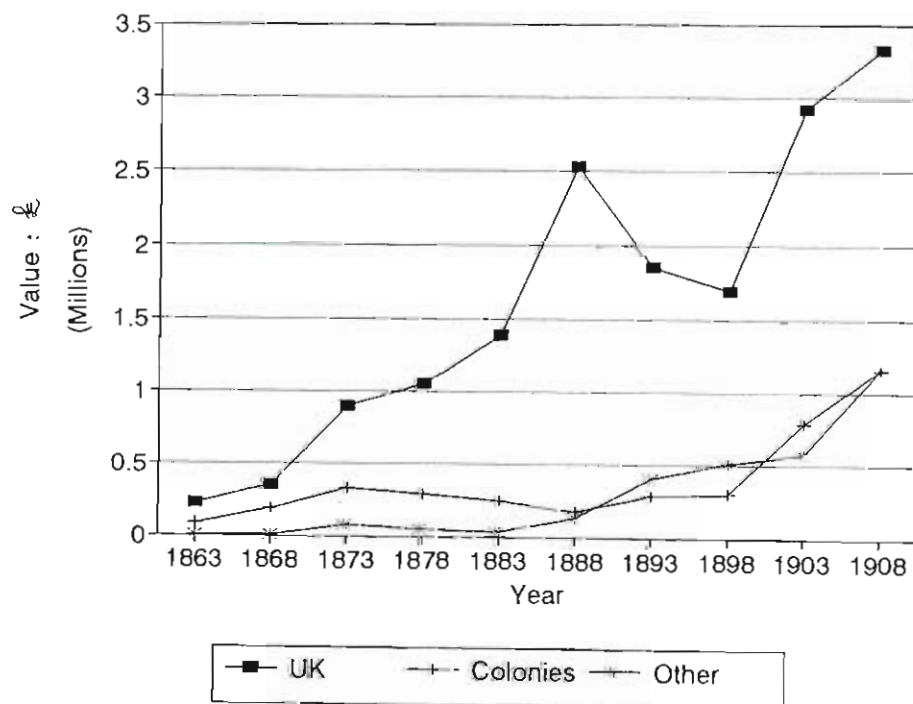
## IMPORTS

Note

Predominance of British trade share in relation to other countries.

Table 6a

## EXPORTS

Note

Predominance of exports to Britain in relation to other countries.

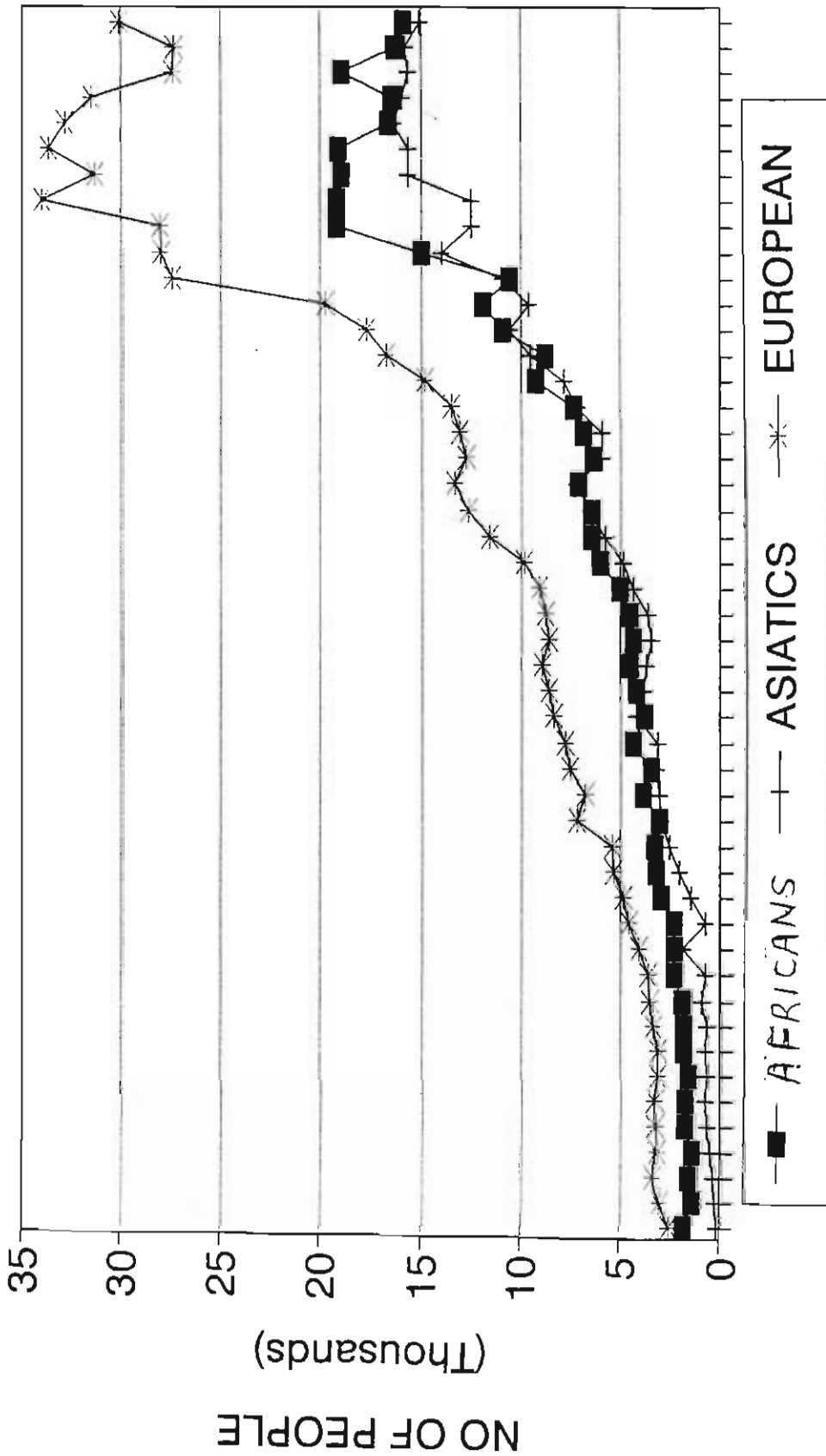
Source

Owen Horwood, 'The Port of Durban', in *Natal Regional Survey*, (ed.), (Durban: University of Natal Press, 1969), vol. 15, p. 128, for figures.

Appendix I: Table 7a

# ALL POPULATION FIGURES

BY RACIAL CLASSIFICATION 1862 - 1909

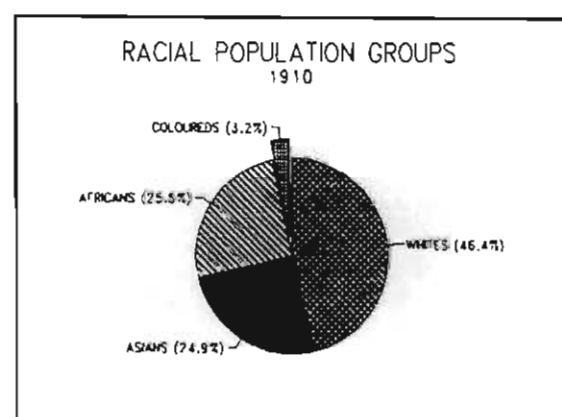
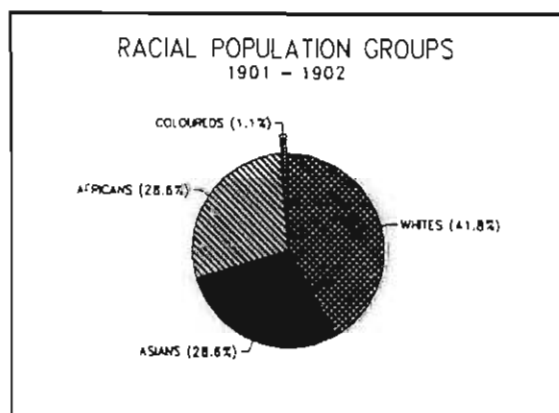
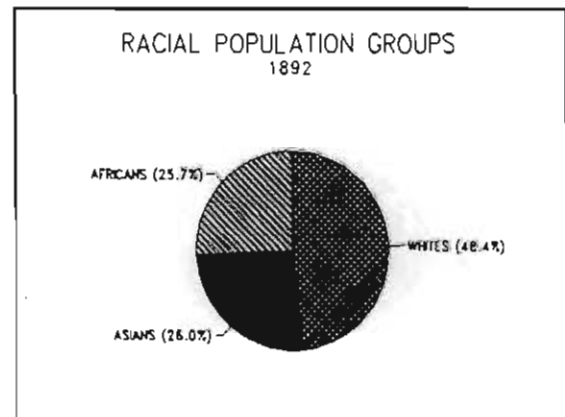
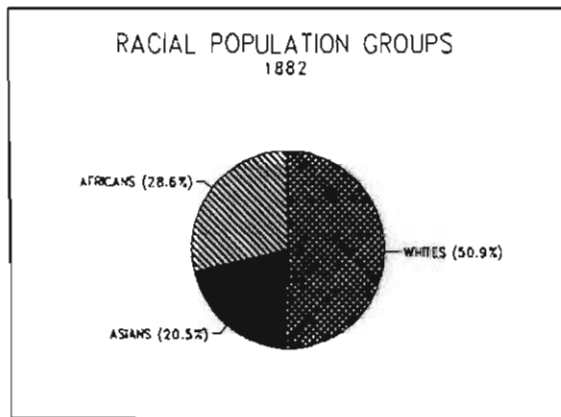
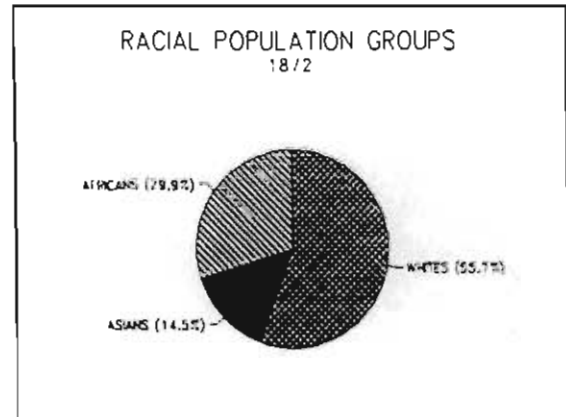
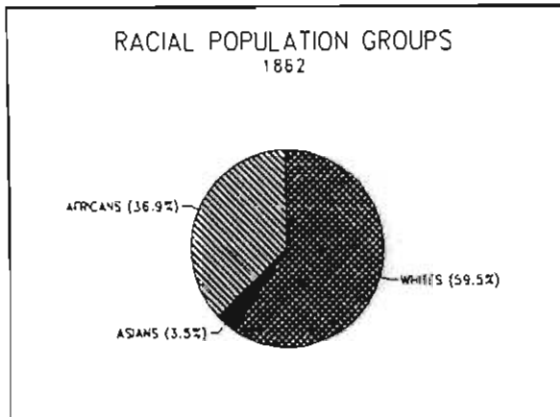


Notes: Population figures for Durban reached unprecedented heights during and after the Second Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902). Coloureds were only enumerated separately and on a fragmentary basis from the early 20th century onwards. Their count for 1910 stood at 2 034.

Sources: Durban Mayor's Minutes, 1855-1910; Natal Almanac and Directories, 1863-1910; Statistical Year Books, 1893-1909.

Appendix J: Table 7 b

**POPULATION GROUPS  
EVERY TEN YEARS**



## Appendix J: Table 8

Population of the colonial city of Durban in relation to closest  
coastline towns.

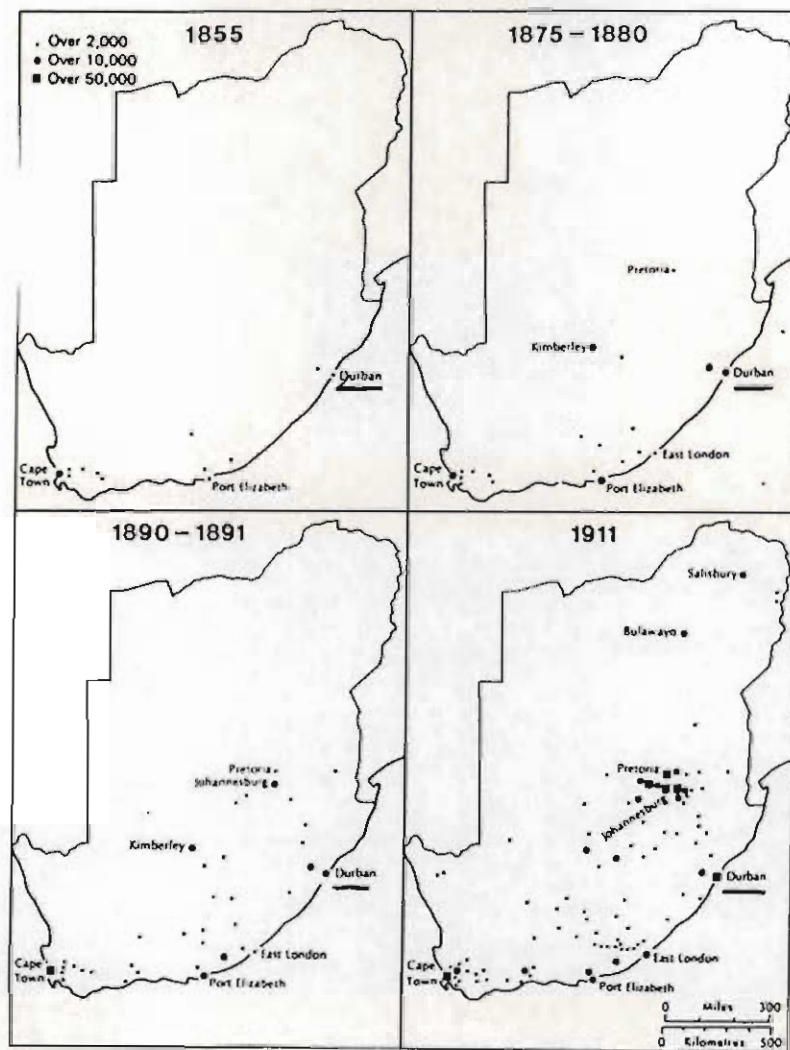
Year	Durban	Pinetown	Stanger	Verulam	Umzinto	Port Shepstone	Tongaat
1911	94 226*	768	951	1 279	2 262	548	919 <sup>1</sup>

-----  
<sup>1</sup> Source: A.J. Christopher, 'The Natal Coastal Belt', in Contree. Journal for South African Urban and Regional History, 2, July 1977, pp.5-11.

\* The Union Government Census throughout South Africa on 7 May 1911, determined a total population of 69 165 in Durban. See Durban Mayor's Minute, 31 July 1910, p.225; *ibid.*, pp.190-5.

419  
Appendix J  
Table 9

The colonial city of Durban in relation  
to the distribution of other South African  
urban centres, 1855—1911



The two leading port cities in South Africa, namely Capetown and Durban by 1911, having benefitted from the mineral discoveries in the hinterland and the general expansion of trade with greater population density.

(Source: A.J. Christopher, Southern Africa, p.153)

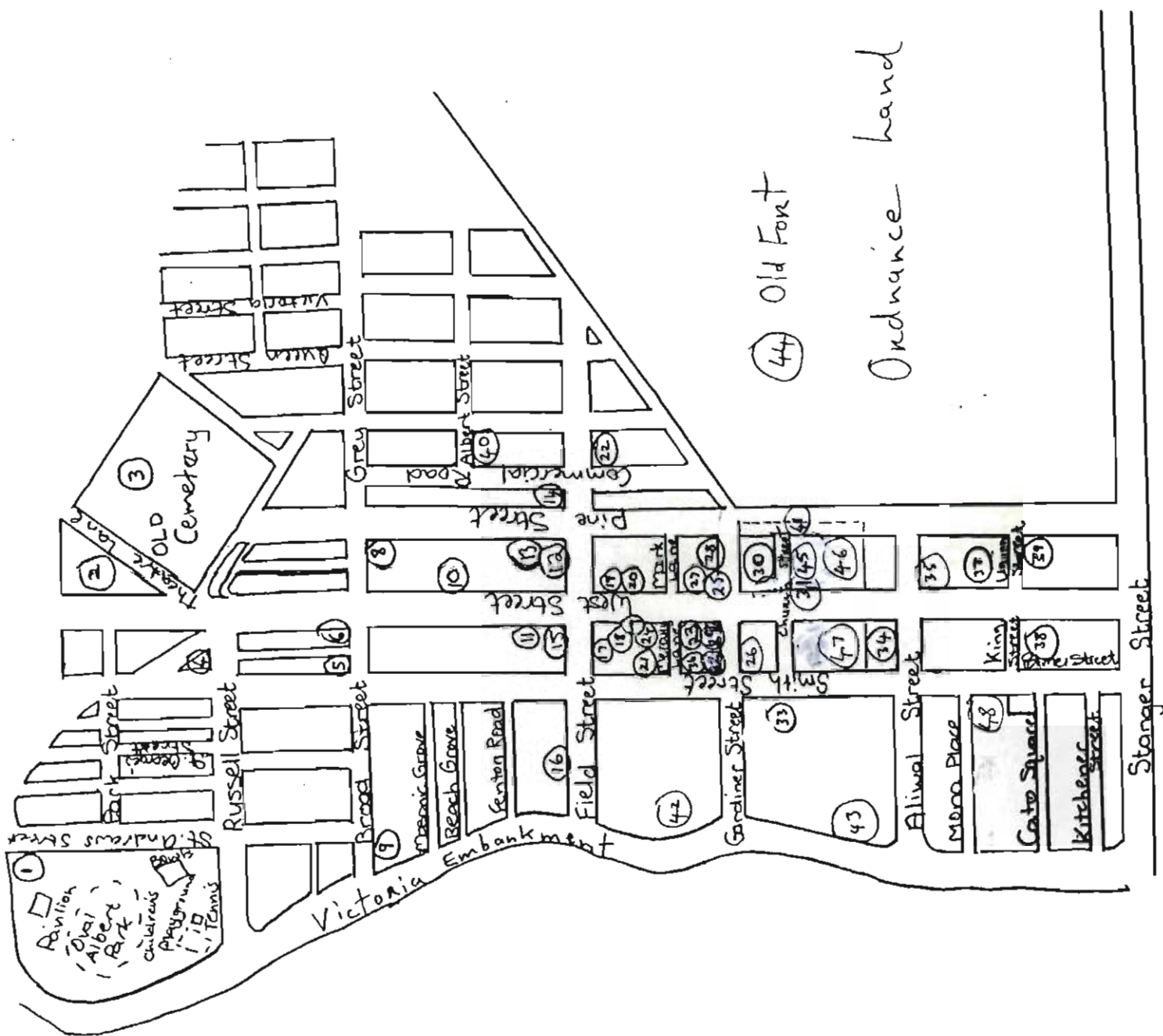
Reconstruction of Central Durban Townscape  
in the 19th Century (Lanes and Arcades to expand CBD)

(Adapted from George Jackson, Music in Durban 1850-1900, pp.130-2)

1. Albert Park (laid off in 1846 - named in 1864)
2. Theatre Royal (Second Theatre 1882)
3. Old Cemetery (laid off as 1 hectare in 1846)
4. Young Ladies' Collegiate Institution (before moved to Berea)
5. Convent Ladies' College (St. Joseph's 1876)
6. St. Joseph's Church and Hall (1877)
7. Central Hotel
8. Drew's West End Hotel/Tavern (1849)
9. Durban High School (before moved to Berea)
10. Council Chamber
11. Jackson's Brothers Music Room
12. Jonsson's Masonic Hall  
 Palmer's Masonic Hall  
 Houghting's Music Hall  
 Caledonian Hotel  
 The Princess Cafe
13. Trafalgar Hall (1869)  
 Trafalgar Theatre (first theatre 1876)  
 Vaudeville Theatre (1885)
14. Templar's Hall (1875)
15. Government Schoolroom (1854)  
 Deer's Hotel (1859)
16. Jerusalem Hotel
17. Evans and Churchill's Warehouse/Store (1857)  
 Darby's Store (1870s) (present ABC Shoe Store)
18. Kinghurst's Store (1852)
19. Snell's Store (1866)
20. Breede's Store (1853)  
 Smith's Store (1856)
21. Congregational Church and Schoolroom (1870)
22. Presbyterian Church (1867)
23. Methodist (Wesleyan) Chapel (1852, Church, 1877) (West Street)
24. Knight and King's Store (1852)  
 William Palmer's Store (1853)
25. Adam's & Co. - above Natal Mercury's 3rd home.
26. Acutt's Auction Mart (1858)
27. Market Square/portion Town Gardens - Band Stand (1891)
28. Clarke & Pulleyn's Store (1867)
29. Masonic Hall (1861)  
 County Hall (1864)
30. Natal Bank
31. Town Hall (present Post Office, 1885 and Extension, 1935)
32. Durban Reading Room and Library (Mechanic's Institute)
33. Middleton & Wirsing's Store
34. MacDonald's Family & Commercial Hotel (1852)  
 Wood's Masonic Hotel/Hall (1859)  
 Renamed Royal Hotel (1860)
35. Court House (1866)
36. Wesleyan Church & School (1867).
37. Beningfield's Mart.
38. Oddfellows' Hall (1882)  
 Philharmonic Hall (1883)
39. London Tavern (c. 1850)
40. Charles E. Todd, Leather & Hide Merchant
41. St. Paul's Church (1855)/Church Lane  
 Extension (1883)  
 Destroyed by fire 1906/present Church dates from 1909



42. Durban Club (second - where Norwich house stands)  
Present Durban Club (third - Esplanade)
43. Marine Hotel (Esplanade - since demolished)
44. Old Fort
45. Durban Publicity Bureau
46. Medwood Gardens/Town Baths
47. Durban City Hall (1910)
48. George C. Cato's Property.

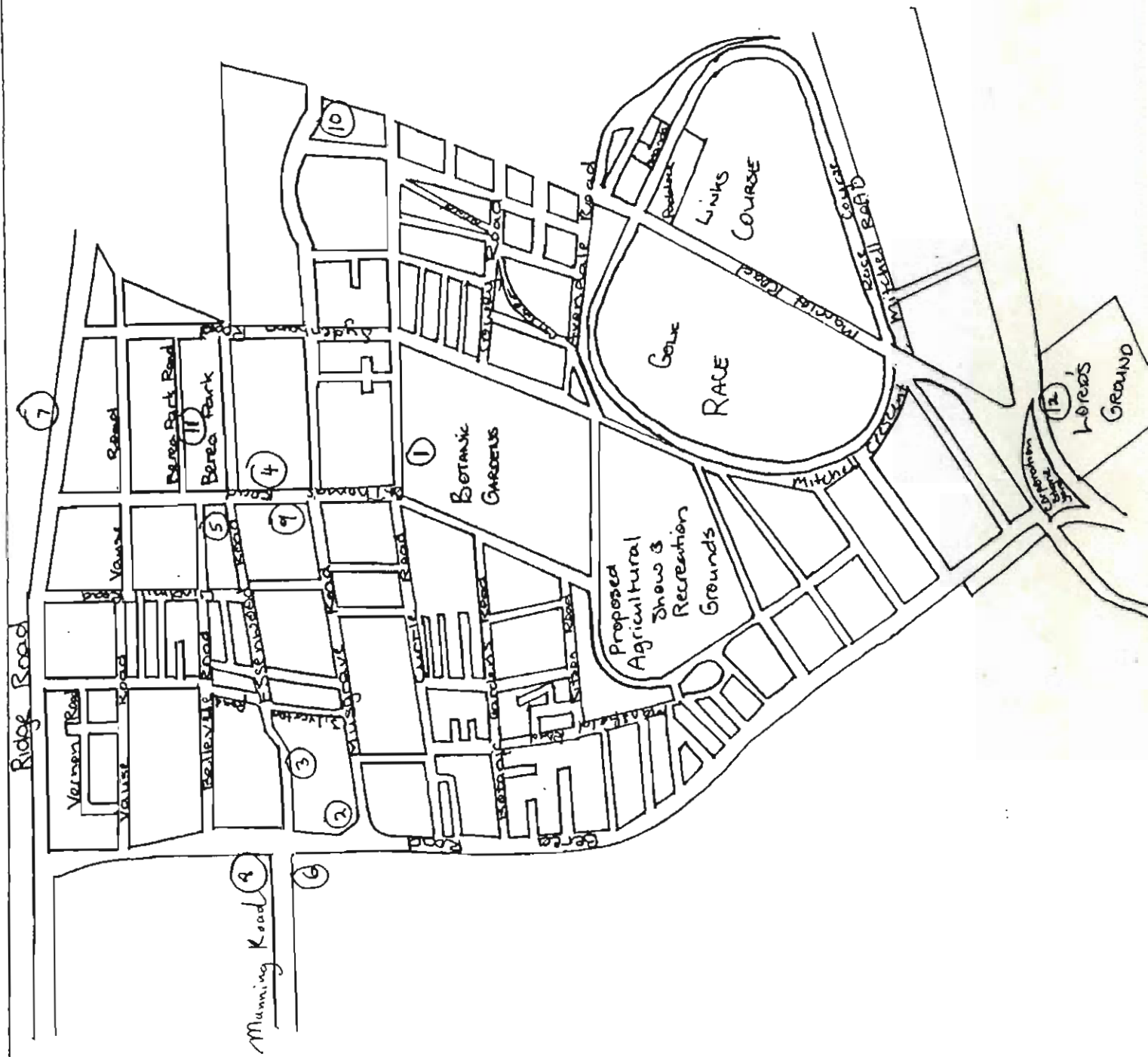


## Appendix K2

Reconstruction of Central Berea Suburban  
Townscape in the 19th Century

(Adapted from George Jackson, Music in Durban 1850-1900, p.133)

1. Botanical Gardens ((50 acres laid off in 1846)
2. Berea Road Congregational Church (1881)  
Musgrave Road Congregational Church (1892)
3. Berea Hall (1883)
4. Wesleyan (Methodist) Church (1892)
5. Durban High School (1896)
6. St.Thomas's Church, Berea Road (1896)
7. St.Thomas's Cemetery, Ridge Road.
8. Presbyterian Church and Hall (1899)
9. St.Thomas's Church, Musgrave Road (1900)
10. Young Ladies' Collegiate College.
11. Berea Park.
12. Lord's Ground.



11/11/1918

PERSONS WHO SERVED AS DIRECTORS OF

THE NATAL RAILWAY COMPANY, 1859-1877

Act of Incorporation 21.6.59

notes: Edw. William Cadiz, Ordinances, Laws and Proclamations of Natal,  
1843-1870 (PMB: Vause & Slutter, 1879), (2 volumes),  
Vol I, pp. 272-3.

ORIGINAL SHAREHOLDERS

William Smerdon, George Henry Wirsing, Henry Milner, Robert Acutt, Adolph Coqui, James Proudfoot, Edward Snell, Joseph Henderson, Jonas Bergtheil, Carl Behrens. (All these were the original directors.)  
George Christopher Cato and James Proudfoot (Trustees)  
Hugh Gillespie and Augustus M. Barnes (Auditors)  
W.H. Addison, W.H. Acutt, J. Adlam, P. Allen, J.W. Akerman, Robert Anderson (Surveyor), J. Brown, J. Bromwich, S.F. Benningfield, W.G. Baker, D.D. Buchanan, J.T. Button, T.G. Browne, F. Bell, R.J. Barns, J.C. Boshoff, S. Button, E.J. Challinor, S. & B. Crowder, J.L. Crompton, J.S. Colborne, E.R. Dixon, J. de Kock, H. Dunning, De Kock & Bresler, J. Evans, J. Ellis, A.R. Forbes, J. Few, J. Fleming, M. Foggitt, P. Ferreira, C. Goodwin, S.W.B. Griffin, J. Gavin, J. Gillespie, J. Hunt, W.C. Humphreys, P. Henwood, J.K. Harrison, T. Heys, T.M. Harvey, M. Hirsch, T. Jacques, A. Jacques, W. James, R.W. James, J.F. Kahts, J. King, Landsberg Hoffman & Co, R. Lindsay, J. Mason, W. Martin, C.W. Mayne, W.H. Middleton, D.L. Maree, J.B. Millar, A. McArthur, W.E. Oates, J. Pulleyn, J. Player, S. Pinsent, J. Pitcher, J. Russom, A. Robinson, S.W. Rowse, G. Robinson, J. Raw, F. Roos, W.H. Savory, Surtees. Robinson & Browne, P.C. Sutherland, J.R. Saunders, D.H. Tarboton, G. Thomson, E. Tomlinson, R. Vause, J.D. Witherspoon, J. Wheeler, S. Williams, G. Winder, J.O. Wirsing, G.H. Wathen, F.M. Wolhuter, J.W. Winter, G. Wilson, A.S. White, and P.H. Zeederburg.

R. Acutt*	T.P. James
W.C. Baker	J.F. Kahts
C. Behrens	A. McArthur
S.F. Benningfield	J. Millar*
J. Bergtheil	H. Milner
Mr Bresler	W. Peace
J. Brickhill	T. Poynton
G.C. Cato	J. Proudfoot
A. Coqui	W.H. Savory
A.W. Evans	W. Smerdon*
J.E. Fradd	E. Snell
H. Gillespie*	Dr Sutherland
J.R. Goodricke	D.H. Tarboton
W. Grant	R. Vause
J. Henderson	G.H. Wathen
J.P. Hoffman	A.S. Windham
J. Hunt	G.H. Wirsing
R.W. James	Zeederburg.

List compiled from Minute Books N.G.R. 38, 39 and 40; and from Natal Almanacs 1863-1877.

\* Chairmen of the Company

Appendix MPrinted Prospectus of Natal Railway Company  
(N.R.C.)Source: The Natal Mercury, 31 January 1859.

NATAL

RAILWAY COMPANY.

TO BE INCORPORATED BY SPECIAL ACT OF THE LEGISLATURE,  
WITH LIMITED LIABILITY.

CAPITAL £10,000.

IN 1000 SHARES, OF £10 EACH, WITH POWER TO INCREASE.

Payable £2 10s. per share on allotment; £2 10s., three months  
after; the remainder to be called up as required, giving one  
month's notice.

## PROVISIONAL DIRECTORS:

WILLIAM SMERDON, Esq., Chairman,  
ROBERT ACUTT, Esq.                      JAMES PROUDFOOT, Esq.  
GEORGE C. CATO, Esq.                    GEORGE H. WIRSONG, Esq.  
A. COQUI, Esq.

## TRUSTEES:

GEORGE C. CATO, Esq.                    JAMES PROUDFOOT, Esq.

## AUDITORS:

HUGH GILLESPIE, Esq.                    WILLIAM H. ACUTT, Esq.

Banker - THE NATAL BANK.

Solicitor -                      Acting Secretary -  
JOHN R. GOODRICKE, Esq.                    GEORGE H. WIRSING, Esq.  
Engineer and Managing Director - ALBERT ROBINSON, Esq.

## PROVISIONAL COMMITTEE AT MARITZBURG

J. HENDERSON, Esq.                      Hon. P. ALLEN, Esq.  
Dr. P.C. SUTHERLAND                      C. BEHRENS, Esq.,  
J. BEAGTHIEL, Esq.                      J.W. AKERMAN, Esq.  
E.R. DIXON, Esq.                      R. VAUSE, Esq.

This Company is established for constructing, maintaining  
and working a Railway from the Point to Durban, with Wharf,  
Shed, and Plant at the Point, to land and ship Goods and  
Passengers, and Terminus in Town from whence Goods are to be

delivered by Wagons. The calculations made shew that no line could be more easily or cheaply constructed, and the Local Government, being favourable to the undertaking, will afford such assistance as is in their power, whilst the estimated Returns shew a highly remunerative prospect for the Shareholders.

The project now submitted will commend itself as called for by the exigencies of the times. Nearly half the capital has been at once subscribed in Durban, and having formed part of a plan for some time under consideration, the Promoters need only make a passing allusion to the necessity there is for expediting the increasing traffic between the two places, and having secured the able co-operation of Mr. A. ROBINSON, an eminent Engineer, feel every confidence in launching this the first Railway in Natal.

The landing, shipping, and transport of Cargo having hitherto been attended with difficulty and delay, it is obvious that very soon it will be altogether out of the question to conduct even the ordinary traffic by the present mode; hence it is conceived that the time has arrived to make provision for rendering the Sea Port of the Colony as efficient in every respect as circumstances will admit. This Railway and the other operations contemplated by the Company are the more essential now that a Steam Tug is to be placed on the station, which, whilst obviating a recurrence of the frequent detention of vessels, will combine, when the Jetty is completed, to make the Harbour the most efficient in South Africa and bring a large amount of passing Tonnage to the Port, Natal being situated directly on the route from India.

It is contemplated eventually to extend the line beyond Congella to the Umhlatuzan, whence Stone for the Harbour improvements can be procured, where Wagons to and from Pietermaritzburg can be loaded, avoiding the whole of the heavy pull through the Berea sand, and where the growing Sugar Estate near the Isipingo, Umlazi and beyond promise a large amount of traffic. There is not a member of the community but will benefit either directly or indirectly by the opening up of Railway communication in Natal, of which this is but the forerunner.



The following Estimates have been made up and revised so as to leave a wide margin for contingencies, and there can be no doubt an increased revenue will be derived from sources not taken at all into the account:-

## CAPITAL.

## PERMANENT STOCK -

As Rails, Sleepers, Chains, Turntables, Bridges,  
Culverts, Stations, Sheds, and Wharf,  
including construction of the whole... ..£5682 0 0

## ROLLING STOCK -

As Locomotive and Tender, Carriage for Passengers,  
Four Trucks, Six Ballast Wagons, Two Portable  
Cranes, etc. ... .. 1644 0 0

CONTINGENCIES - say . ... .. 674 0 0

Estimated Capital to be employed...£8000 0 0

## RETURNS.

## GOODS TRAFFIC -

Per Estimate of the Chamber of Commerce,  
say 11,000 tons of Merchandise up, at  
4s.6d. per ton ... .. £2475 0 0  
Say 6500 tons of Produce, &c. down, at  
4s.6d. per ton ... .. 1462 0 0  
£3937 0 0

Transport of Material for Harbour Stone, &c.... ..

## PASSENGER TRAFFIC -

Twenty Passengers each way, 40 per day,  
at 6d. each for 313 working days, say £300 0 0  
Transport of Stores for Ships, Passengers'  
Effects &c., say ... .. 62 10 0  
£362 10 0  
£4300 0 0  
Deduct Estimated Annual Expenditure ... .. 1800 0 0  
£2500 0 0

And a Profit remains of 30 per cent for Dividend  
to Shareholders.

As soon as the whole of the Shares are taken, a General Meeting of Shareholders will be called for the election of Directors and Trustees, and for other business connected with the practical starting of the Company.

Applications for the remaining Shares can only be received until the 15th February next, and must be made according to the form hereunto annexed under cover to the Acting Secretary.

Durban, January 31, 1859.

$\frac{1}{\sqrt{2}}$  65k

6581 Linnet  
off the  
the rainwa

... ..

IRAKIS FROM ORIGINAL DRAINAGE OF WADSWORTH  
KCI MAP # 80 D

SA ARCHIVES CAPS TOWN

John W. Turner

*Staphylinidae*. - *Staphylinus*



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tracing of a plan of the Dugoni Extension Railway which was eventually  
into service in January 1867. The plan was recently discovered  
September 1973) in the possession of Mrs Ruth Mylius, grand-daughter of  
an Harland, Byrna settler-agent and surveyor.

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Appendix O

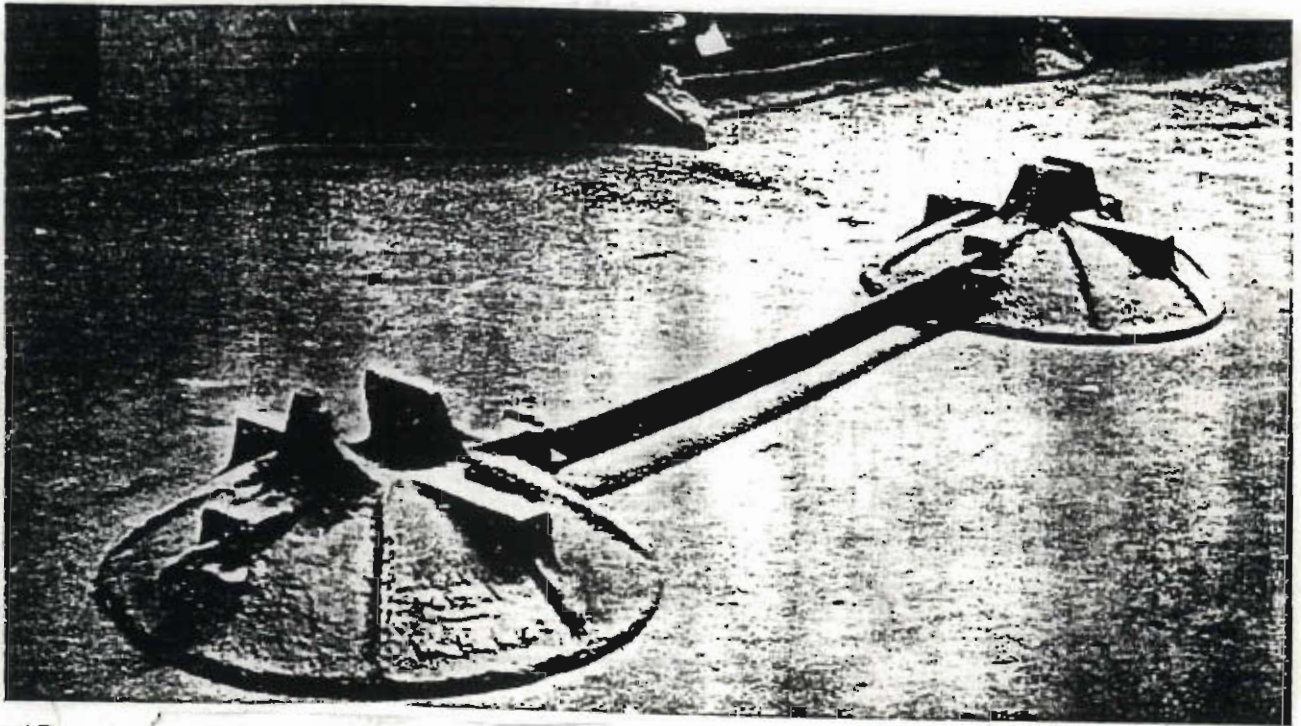
NATAL RAILWAY COMPANY

Comparative Statements - Net Profit Lists, 1859-1877

For Half-year ending	Liabilities £	Gross Revenue £	Gross Expenditure £	Profits £
31.12.1860				<u>Loss £271</u>
30. 6.1861				
31.12.1861		2,989.13. 7	2,755. 6.10	234. 6. 9
30. 6.1862		3,090. 4. 0	2,775.15. 1	314.13. 1
31.12.1862		2,481. 6. 0	2,945.19. 9	<u>Loss 464.13. 9</u>
30. 6.1863		7,727.18. 4		317.16.11
31.12.1863				546.13. 0
30. 6.1864		7,488. 2. 4		<u>Loss 2,145.18. 3</u>
31.12.1864				962.19. 4
30. 6.1865				241.11.11
31.12.1865				183. 2. 1
30. 6.1866				
31.12.1866				
30. 6.1867				<u>Loss 77.11. 0</u>
31.12.1867				470.11. 6
30. 6.1868	13,985.19. 2	3,045.14. 4	2,611. 0. 1	434. 4. 3
31.12.1868	13,695.14. 5	3,815. 1. 7	3,005. 1. 1	810. 0. 6
30. 6.1869	12,695. 7. 4	3,643. 3. 4	2,671.19. 0	971. 4. 4
31.12.1869	11,913.19.11	3,815.15.11	2,627. 0. 6	1,188.15. 5
30. 6.1870	11,447. 6. 8	4,185. 1. 3	2,708.11. 2	1,476.10. 1
31.12.1870	9,824.15. 1	4,588.12. 6	2,785. 6. 8	1,803. 5.10
30. 6.1871	8,405. 7. 8	5,470.10. 7	3,017.13. 4	2,452.17. 3
31.12.1871	6,695. 0. 9	6,267. 0. 4	3,765. 7. 6	2,501.12.10
30. 6.1872	3,988. 3. 1	7,986. 0. 4	3,655.14. 7	4,330. 5. 9
31.12.1872	2,708.13. 1	8,114.12.10	3,783. 9. 5	4,331. 3. 5
30. 6.1873	2,750. 9. 5	8,551. 1. 3	4,972. 9. 5	4,478.11.10
31.12.1873	2,506. 4. 3	8,856.19.10	4,353. 4. 9	4,503.15. 1
30. 6.1874	2,435. 4. 7	9,986. 9. 8	5,401.15. 3	4,584.14. 5
31.12.1874	2,389.11. 4	11,116.15. 2	6,499.10. 7	4,617. 4. 7
30. 6.1875	9,833. 0. 0	11,419. 9. 6	6,160. 6. 4	5,259. 3. 2
31.12.1875		10,737.18. 5	5,572.19.10	5,164.18. 7
30. 6. 1876	3,100. 0. 0	9,632. 1. 2	5,480. 1. 9	4,151.19. 5
31.12.1876				

Information taken from Company Half-yearly Reports printed in the Natal Mercury or the minute books of the Natal Railway Company. As can be seen from the several omissions, the Reports were not always published.

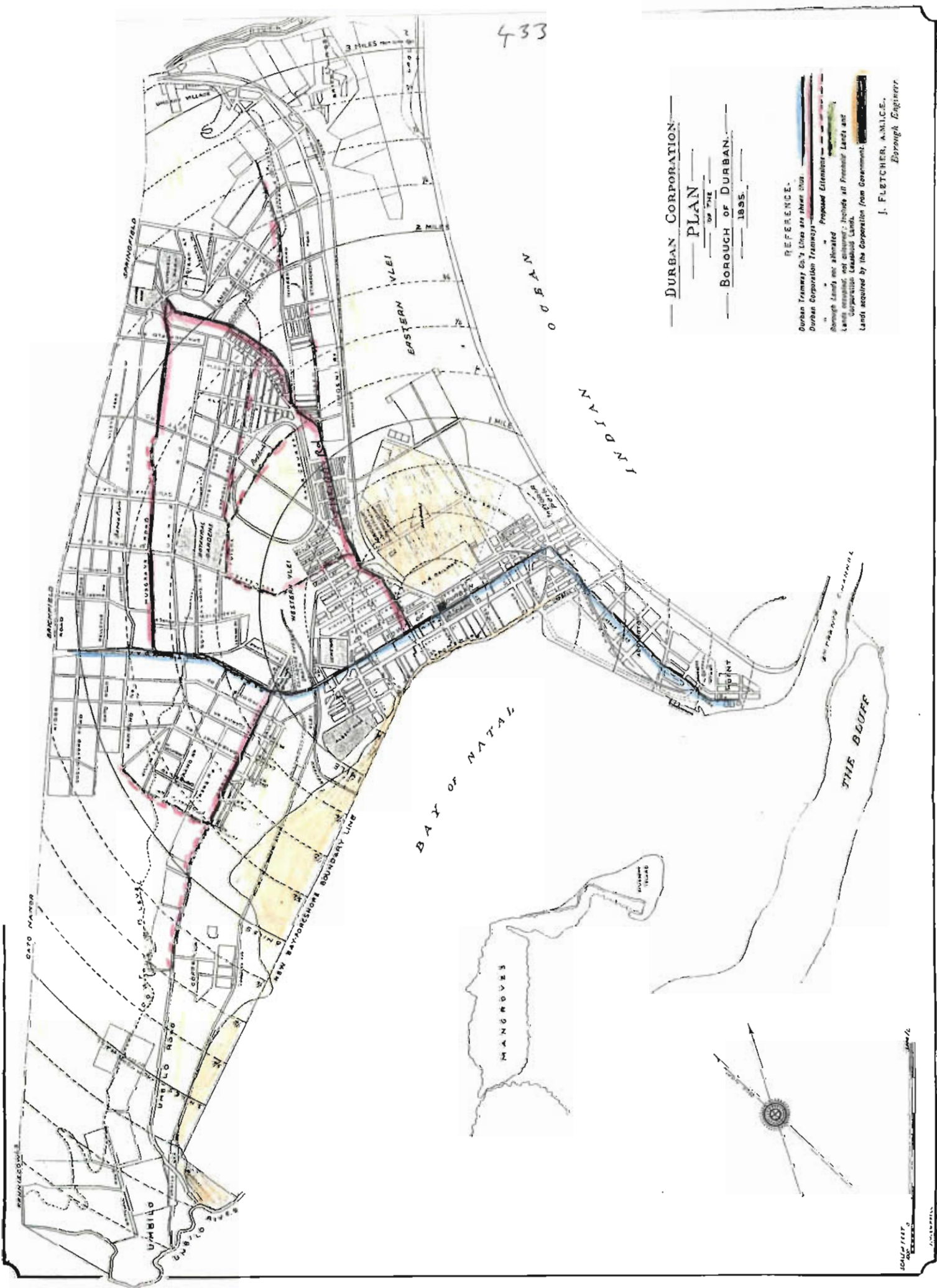
## Appendix P

A Remnant from the Durban/Point line (1860)

These 'pot-lid' sleepers of the original Point - Durban line found during excavation work at Durban Central Station in 1941 are kept at the Durban local History Museum. This narrow length of iron bar was fastened at each end by wedges made of English oak to a cast iron round plate (about 18 in. in diameter), making the gauge of the track 4 ft.  $8\frac{1}{2}$  inches in conformity with the standard gauge for British Railways.



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DURBAN CORPORATION  
PLAN  
OF THE  
BOROUGH OF DURBAN  
1895.

REFERENCE.  
Durban Tramway Co.'s Lines are shown in blue.  
Durban Corporation Tramways in red.  
Proposed Extension in black.  
Borough Lands are shown in yellow.  
Lands reserved, not disposed of, include all Franchise Lands and Corporation Leasehold Lands.  
Lands acquired by the Corporation from Government in black.

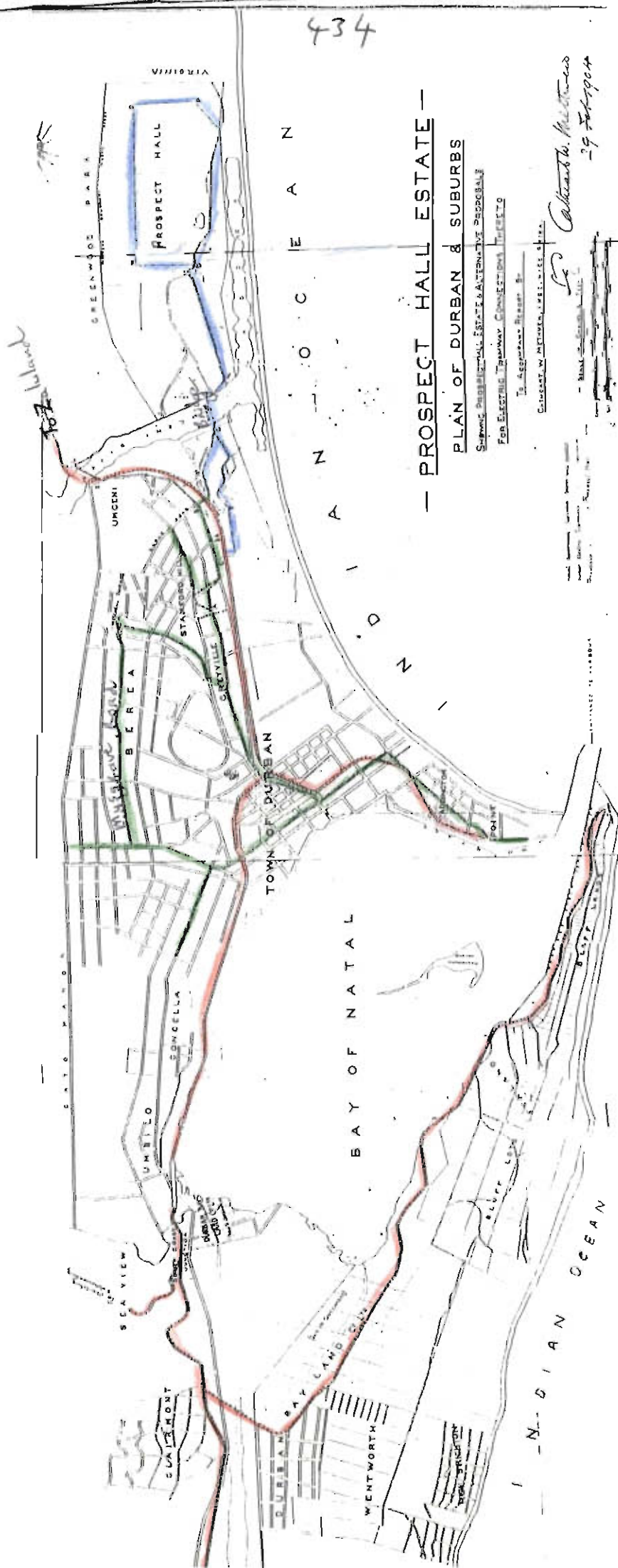
J. FLETCHER, A.M.I.C.E.,  
Borough Engineer.

# Appendix R

Durban Electric Tramways 1904

Natal Government Railways 1904

Proposed Electric Tramway to Prospect Hall





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Appendix S

The original cost of the Permanent Way  
as it varied per mile of track.

		PERMANENT WAY.		
ROUTE.		Cost.	Track Miles.	Average cost per mile.
<u>1902 - 1905.</u>				
1902-4	Point Line.	23,312	4.515	
1902-5	Berea Circle.	61,378	11.752	
1902	Brook St. Siding.	1,032	.208	
1902	Stone Depot Siding.	1,420	.271	
1902-5	Alice St. Old Dutch Rd.	11,500	1.852	
1903	Toll Gate Line.	6,000	.803	
1903	Stam.Hill Line.	16,500	2.691	
		<u>£121,142</u>	<u>22.092</u>	<u>£5,484</u>
<u>1906 - 1909.</u>				
1906-8	Beach Line.	1,958	.564	
1906-9	Umbilo Line.	23,400	4.253	
1907	Umgeni Line.	16,451	2.776	
1908	Field St. Line.	1,975	.369	
	Post Office Siding.	195	.022	
	Botanic Gardens Line.	4,603	1.338	
	Race Course Line.	897	.261	
	Bulwer Park Line.	5,500	.763	
		<u>£54,979</u>	<u>10.346</u>	<u>£5,314</u>

: Non Africana Museum : Report by E.B. Scott  
(Town Treasurer) to Durban Town Council : 'Tramways  
Development, Borough of Durban' (Durban, 1935),  
pp. 2-17.

Appendix J

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Copy

D U R B A N,

28th April 1903

The Right Honourable

Lieut.Colonel Sir Albert H.Hime, P.C., K.C.M.G.

Prime Minister of Natal and

Minister of Lands and Works

PIETERMARITZBURG

Sir,

The Undersigned Representatives of Steamship Companies trading to Natal urge upon the Natal Government to proceed at once with the Harbour Improvements, as laid down in the Scheme set forth in the Report by Sir Charles A.Hartley, K.C.M.G., F.R.S.E., and Sir John Wolfe Barry, K.C.B., F.R.S., dated 31st December 1902.

We have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient Servants,

THE UNION-CASTLE MAIL STEAMSHIP CO., LTD.

(Sgd) R. H. WISELY

NATAL AGENCY, DURBAN.

Agents for:-

The American-African Line.  
The Union-Clan Line.

(Sgd) KING & SONS

Agents:- Natal Direct Line  
Gulf Line Ltd.  
Australian African S.S.Ld.

(Sgd) WM. COTTS & CO.

Agents:- Houston Lines  
White Star Line  
Ismay Imrie & Co.

(Sgd) JOHN T.RENNIE & SONS

Agents:- Aberdeen Direct Line and  
Australian Lines

(Sgd) PARKER WOOD & CO.LTD.  
J.R.Buttery

Managing Director.

Agents for:-  
The Bucknall Steamship Lines  
and Ltd.  
The Ellerman-Harrison Line.

(Sgd) DEUTSCHE OST-AFRIKA LINIE  
General Agentur Durban.  
Von Boetticher

(Sgd) STEEL MURRAY & CO.

Agents for:- Clan Line  
Union-Clan Line.  
Pacific S.N.Line.

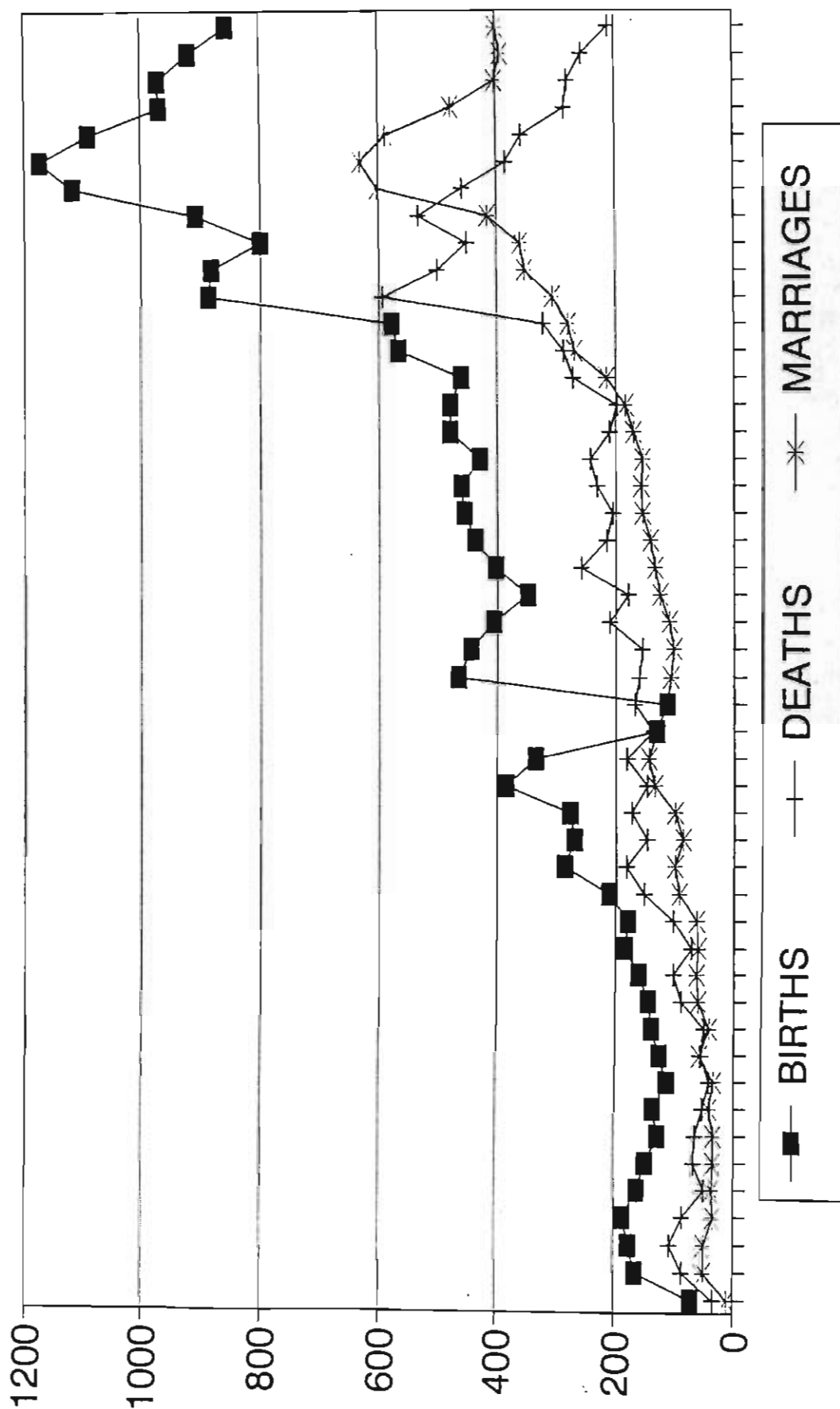
(Sgd) W.DUNN & CO.

Agents:- British India S.N.Co.  
Austrian Lloyds S.N.Co.  
Prince Line  
Canadian Line &c. &c.

Source: PM Minute Papers, vol. 40, nos. 1182-1462, 1903: Harbour Correspondence, Letter dated 28/4/1903: R. H. Wisely, Agent for Union-Castle Mail Steamship Co. Ltd., forwarding copy to Natal Government.

# BIRTHS, DEATHS AND MARRIAGES

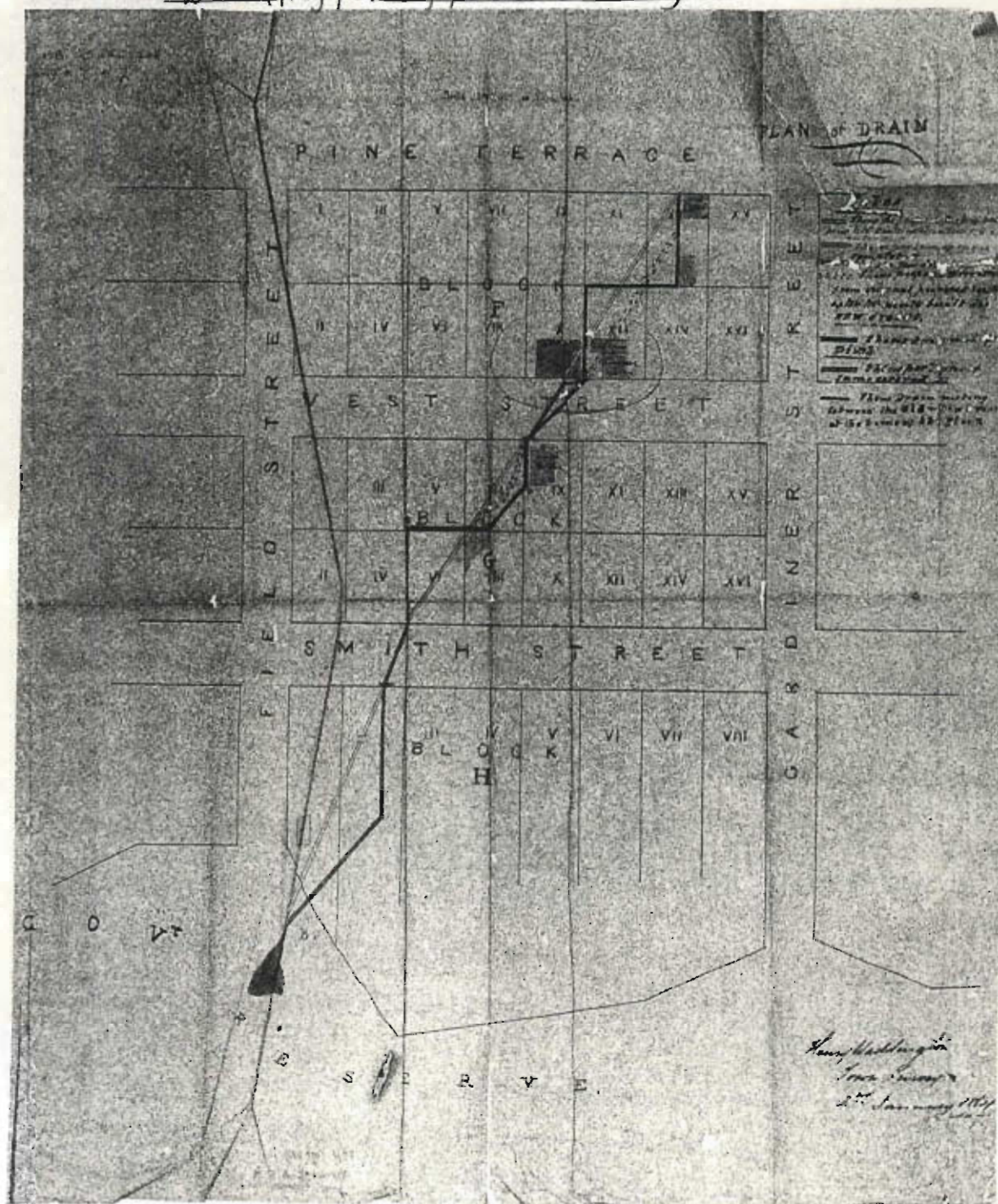
## WHITE STATISTICS (1862-1910)



Note: Vital statistics for other races were recorded on a very fragmentary basis and are not included. The Registration By-laws for Births, Marriages and Deaths were framed in terms of law no. 21, 1862. See *Nile*, vol. xiv, no. 722, 2 September 1862, pp. 421-6; Law no. 21, 1862. Sources: *Quabna Magazine's Minutes*, 1855-1910; *Natal Almanac and Directories*, 1863-1910; *Statistical Year Books*, 1873-1904.

## Appendix V

Central Town Drainage Plan 1864 by Henry Waddington, Town Surveyor.

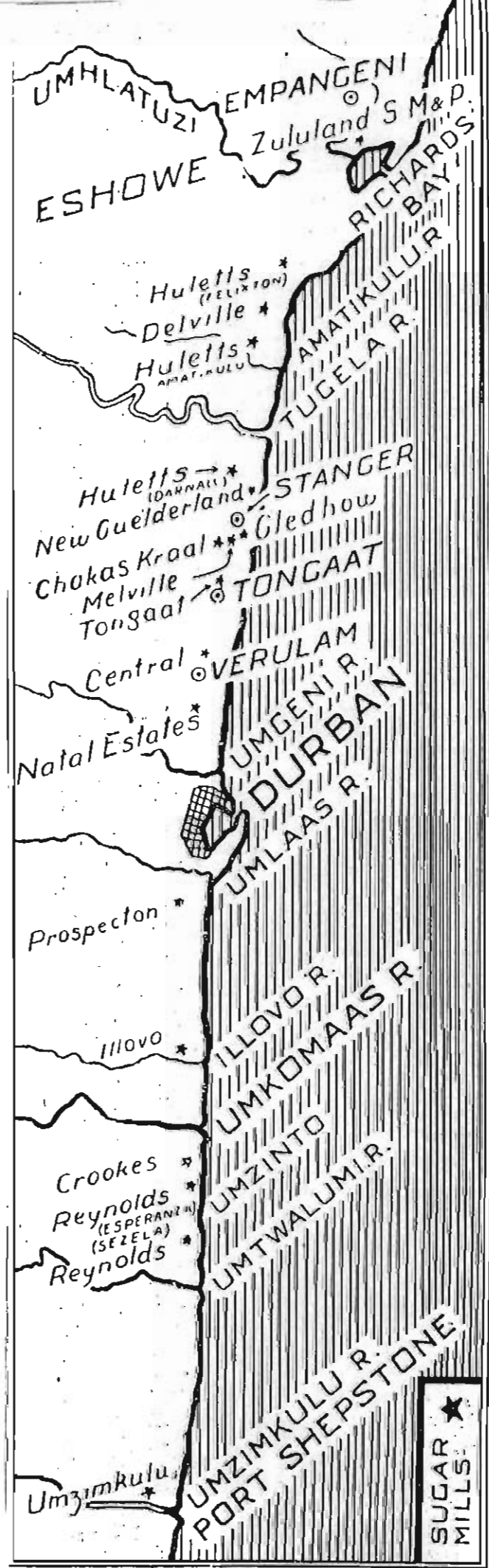


An original plan of drainage, signed by Henry Waddington, Town Surveyor, dated 2/1/1864, showing the Field Street Drain on the left and Adlam's Drain on the right with the Bay as outlet. The latter became known as "Central Drain" when it was reconstructed.



Appendix W

Central location of Durban in relation to the  
Developing Sugar Industry



The above is a map of the sugar belt in Southern and Northern Natal and Zululand, with the position of the mills marked by asterisks.

Source: Supplement to the Natal Mercury, 15 February 1935